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THE CITY OF MAN

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THE PIAZZA OF ST. MARK'S, VENICE.

[Alinari.

THE CITY OF MAN

By A. SCOTT MATHESON

AUTHOR OF

"THE GOSPEL AND MODERN SUBSTITUTES," "THE CHURCH AND
SOCIAL PROBLEMS"

T. FISHER UNWIN

LONDON: ADELPHI TERRACE

LEIPSIC: INSELSTRASSE 20

1910

TO
MY WIFE

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PREFACE

BY the City of Man do not let the reader understand the product of no other influences but such as are purely human ; on the contrary, the author cherishes a vision of the City of God in process of realisation here—"coming down from God out of heaven." He aims at an application of the Christian ideal of a city to the city-modelling awakening of our time. The apocalyptic city is meant to set the type of all other cities on earth.

A sign of the age is a slow but sure gathering of our people into cities, the proportion in this

country being already 80 per cent. of its population. The greatest thing which Europe has produced is—The Citizen ; citizenship is a long art come to this last ripe fruit.

This volume treats of the forces of selection which, according to Professor Arthur Thomson, “make for the survival of beautiful and healthful surroundings, educative and wholesome occupations, sane and progressive men and women.” In terms of science these are known as eutopias, eutechnics, and eugenics, and they stand for the chief categories of biology—environment, function, organism.

As to the speedy advent of the City of Man the writer is under no illusions, but is sure it is on the way, and is fully persuaded that it is the duty of all good men to build the City of God on this solid earth. Human will and energy can do much to hasten it. If a tithe of

the faith and courage now going to the conquest of the air were given to the work of building "New Jerusalem in England's green and pleasant land," its realisation would not be so remote.

The Town Planning Conference held this week in London, with its exhibition of charts and models to illustrate every phase of City building, is by far the biggest stride yet taken in this country forward to the City Beautiful.

GLASGOW, *October 14, 1910.*

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*The Author is much indebted to Mr. Raymond Unwin
for the use of these Illustrations from his fine work
"Town Planning in Practice."*

CHAPTER I

CHRIST AND CITIZENSHIP

IN the course of Social Evolution, the inhabitants of Great Britain and Ireland have arrived at a stage that summons them to fulfil the proud *rôle* of citizens in a great Empire, to welcome opportunities of serving in public life, and take a share in the work of promoting the welfare of society, guarding only against the danger of doing so for any private or unworthy end. Plato says that the evils of the world will continue till philosophers become kings, or kings become philosophers—a truly aristocratic view of the matter. “Yet shew I unto you a more excellent way.” The evils of the world will continue till a spiritual commonalty realise that they are made “kings and priests unto God,” and learn their rights and privileges in the light of a Christian discovery of their worth. Democracy ought, if one may speak in paradox, to be

not less, but more, aristocratic than in other ages ; the greatness of modern States and the complexity of modern life require more intelligence, severer method, exacter rule, and a firmer hand in administration than has been seen in any former period.

We are called, in our time, to an exercise of rights and duties such as no other age has witnessed. And one of the happiest signs of our time is the evidence of a Civic movement everywhere. The spirit of civic renaissance is fully awake. Among many pleasing growths, it is not difficult to differentiate the social form or sphere in which that life should operate with highest power and freest play. The Family, the State, and the Church are three great relations of men to men, generally recognised by old authorities on this subject ; but recent writers have added a fourth social form—that of the civil community ; and the rapid growth of towns and cities in this and other countries has made it absolutely necessary to discriminate such a sphere, to recognise the group of facts contained in it, and to grasp its ideals not as yet realised. It is true that such a phrase as civic life or “ civic community ” is a somewhat elastic

one, and may be viewed at once as too broad or too narrow, including functions that lie properly within the sphere of the State, and omitting some social groups that have gained coherence in new massings of population, such as we find in some of the most significant movements of industrial life. The two spheres of the City and the State, when followed out, interpenetrate each other, and overlap each other, to such an extent that they cannot be distinctly separated. Indeed, in ancient times cities represented States, as, for example, Nineveh, Babylon, Athens, Rome. Etymologically, the word "politics" means the science of municipal government, and such was actually the case among the classic civilisations that preceded the Roman Empire. That was the period of City States, in which all *free* citizens participated immediately in the government. The Roman Empire introduced the period of country States, and then government became representative. The period in which we live is the period of national country States, while under the modern phenomena of territorial extension, politics, or what was once the science of municipal government, tends to become the science of human world-States. Amidst these

overshadowing ideals of civilisation there is all the more need to prosecute with ardour the study and the attainment of Civic Ideals and Social Reforms. It would be unfortunate if cosmopolitanism supplanted patriotism and the civic spirit, or struck them with infertility. Should they decay, the larger hope of a still greater Parliament of Man and Federation of the World would have to be indefinitely postponed.

What, then, is the nature of true citizenship? What are the contents of its ideal? It is to the ethic of Christianity we turn for an answer to these questions ; it is in the Christian doctrine as to man's worth, his moral and spiritual worth, we seek the highest conception of his social value. At the bottom of that doctrine lies the law of man's individuality, his sacred, inviolate worth, his true self-respect ; but Christianity is something more—it is man in his individuality, viewed, not as an atom, but as a social unit. Christianity has been defined as an essentially political principle—architectural and constructive, an ideal of the kingdom of organised love. In such an ideal we have that which furnishes motive, pattern, and power to

call forth in man all the best social qualities and functions of which he is capable. It sets forth something more than the best moral code, for it holds the record of a realised Ideal in which the highest citizenship on earth finds its fairest and most complete verification.

The New Testament reveals the kingdom of God as the kingdom of heaven upon earth, and the Sermon on the Mount is the manifesto of its Citizen-King. For every Christian the question comes to the front: "Is the Sermon on the Mount a fantastic theory or a working programme of life?" To academic minds it seems a beautiful ideal hovering over our earth, of a kind with Plato's Republic, never realised, and perhaps not meant to be realised. An eloquent Prelate once hastened to tell the Christian world that human society could not be administered according to such a code. Is not Jesus Christ a vain dreamer? is there any good in the principles He taught, if they are not applicable to the affairs of modern society and of practical life? Christ meant His laws and relations of the kingdom to be a guide for conduct, and he is no Christian who does not strive for their embodiment in every social sphere. Truths not

vitalised and fruitful in men's lives are powerless as moonbeams of the air ; ideals must get themselves incarnated in living souls. Current Christianity is still far enough from any adequate realisation of its Founder's ideals, not because they are impracticable, but because Christians are impracticable, shrinking from an earnest application of Christ's ethic to all social institutions ; and when any one insists on such application now and here, these dear souls gather up their skirts, retire into a sweetly cherished other-worldliness, and declare that such proposals drag religion into the gutter. The fact of the matter is, that when any one says we cannot regulate social, industrial, and public life according to the Sermon on the Mount, he should be met, as Cobden met the man who said of his great agitation, " It can't be done," with the rejoinder, " Then if that is the only objection, the sooner we set about it the better."

On the part of Christians, there must be a franker recognition of this message of social righteousness and peace, and of such truths in it as the Fatherhood of God, the brotherhood of man, the essential worth of the individual in God's sight, the need of justice to all men,

and the practice of the Golden Rule in every department of human life. In Christ's social ethic we find the ideal civic creed, and the ideal citizen whom it is meant to fashion. The particular precepts drawn out in the Sermon are condensed by Christ into one supreme commandment: "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself"—not more than thyself, and yet not less. Self-regard is to be maintained, but, with not less fidelity, regard for others. In this social creed of loving one's neighbour as one's self, added to the Christian idea of every man's moral worth, we discover those fundamental elements of citizenship which may be expressed in the familiar shibboleths—Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity. These three are, in their most vital forms, nothing less than rich content and practical outcome of Christ's religion. Steeped in His spirit, they admit of indefinite expansion, and constitute the firm pillars of society.

Some take no interest in public life, and think that religion should avoid the rough and tumble of civic affairs. They say: "Jesus Christ and His disciples did not take part in the public life of their day, and did not He declare that 'My kingdom is not of this world'?" It is

more Christ-like not to entangle oneself with the affairs of this life." There is some truth in all this, yet it needs to be carefully sifted, and the edge of the objection taken off so far as it denies a civic religion. When Christ said that His kingdom is not of this world, He only meant that it did not derive its authority or principles or working powers from this world, but He never meant that it should not rule this world, penetrate every province of it, and be regnant in every sphere. His ideal is that of a divine Society to be realised on earth—that of a human brotherhood begotten of Divine Fatherhood—that of a human citizenship inspired by a common love. This realisation in the world of a true society, it was the one purpose of Christ to originate, to extend, and complete. For this purpose He lived and died and revived : for the coming of this kingdom He bids every Christian work and pray. The ideal ever shining before us is a vision of the city of God—not something taken up into the Far-off blue, but to be Now and Here as soon as possible on this solid earth.

We admit that Christ and His disciples did not take part in public life, as we are summoned

to do, for the simple reason that it was impossible to do so at the time. The world of Europe and Asia in the days of the Roman Empire was despotically held down, and no room for individual citizenship was possible. Christians of the first days did not interfere with public affairs, because they had no rights, civil or political, enabling them to act in a constitutional form. Where such rights exist, as among ourselves, a condition of things has arisen laying responsibility on every Christian, with such hard-won birthright, to turn his potential moral worth into the practical worth of enfranchised citizenship.

The common, but too gratuitous, assumption that a Christian should not meddle in worldly matters is daily contradicted by his buying and selling to win a livelihood, while in reference to efforts for the common good it is tantamount to an abnegation of the very spirit and genius of Christianity. Dr. Newman, in his *History of the Arians*, well says : " In truth, the Church was framed for the express purpose of interfering, or, as irreligious men will say, meddling with the world. It is the plain duty of its members not only to associate internally, but

also to develop that internal union in an external warfare with the spirit of evil, whether in kings' courts or among the mixed multitude : and if they can do nothing else, at least they can suffer for the truth, and remind men of it, by inflicting upon them the task of persecution."

Let us examine more closely the frequent statement that Christ kept aloof from the affairs of this world, let things alone, however much they might be out of joint, and did not secularise religion by taking to do with them. Did He so act? and did He forbid His disciples to right the abuses of His time, redress its grievances? and did He tell them not to be patriotic, but patient? Follow Him through the towns of Galilee and through the streets of Jerusalem, and say if He was a dumb dog ; or, when He spoke, if He was content with vague generalities, and only dropped from His lips the consolations and hopes of religion—say if He remained quiet, and let the world go its own way. His word smote like a hammer on the ears of His generation. He spoke with authority, not as the Scribes, and on matters where they observed a guilty silence. Gladly would priests and Pharisees have let Him alone, if He had kept

His lips sealed ; they would have listened with pleasure, if He had uttered pious platitudes to make the poor content with their poverty, but He thought it part of His service to God to attack them, and speak of them as blind leaders of the blind. Wherever high-handed iniquity had to be encountered, wherever a blow had to be struck for the injured, He never skulked away. He boldly preached the message of reform in the streets of Jerusalem ; He lashed with His own hand greedy Mammonites out of the Temple courts ; He faced the wrath of the High Priest, in the depth of His tender compassion for the city of His ancestors. He was a patriot to His heart's inmost core. It was agony to Him to see the people whom He loved going in a mass the wrong way under false guides. In that love He did not condone their faults, or flatter their vanity, or stir to a flame their lust of conquest. Deep were His sympathies for a wronged and deluded nation, earnest and constant were His protests, even until they crucified Him. Such was the citizenship, the patriotism, the philanthropy, of Him whom we call Lord and Christ. Yet in the midst of the strife He always said, " Love your

enemies : bless them that curse you." In Him there was not a vestige of the Anarchist, the agitator, or the demagogue : He was always the Saviour, the Regenerator, the Reformer of men.

With such an example, the statement seems very inept that He kept aloof from affairs of this life, and that Christian prudence requires His servants to do the same. An eminent preacher whom we greatly revere gives this advice to his brethren : " Stop at home, and read your Bible, and work at your sermons, and let the potsherds of the earth strive with the potsherds, and say, ' I am doing a great work, and cannot come down ; this one thing I do.' " Well, Nehemiah's great work did not consist in stopping at home and reading his Bible, or in avoiding a little strife with " the potsherds " ; nor did it consist in such spiritual labour as " work at sermons," but in clearing away rubbish-heaps and building stone walls for a new Jerusalem. It is no defence for Christ's ministers to say that, having the souls of the people in charge, they should let alone such matters as civic duties and social grievances, and confine their ministrations to eternal concerns.

A great deal of confusion encompasses the question as to how far the clergy may interest themselves in mundane affairs. It is often said that there is nothing in the ethics of the Church that concerns the public duties of citizens, that it is a potent factor for individual conduct, but for social conduct it is without force. Such a view sounds very strange to any one who has learned that Christ came preaching a Gospel in which brotherhood and organic unity are the seminal ideas, which go to make it the greatest spiritual message ever proclaimed to mankind. If His ministers perceived that the kingdom of God and the higher aspect of citizenship are meant to be one, they would recognise that a Christian's civic and public duty is as important as his private duties to his family or his obligations to his Church; they could not fail to inculcate this duty upon their flocks, and would organise and adopt all measures to have the ideal citizen a flesh-and-blood reality in every town and village of the land. "It is a duty imposed upon the Church," one has said, "by the new condition of things which obtained when government passed from the hands of a class into those of the people, boldly to preach the civic

and public duties which have thereby been assumed ; and not only to preach, but to see those steps are taken which will lead to organised study and fruitful action."

Such a view does not fully prevail yet in the modern Church ; often does it meet with the suspicion of its saints and the opposition of its defenders. Ecclesiastics treat it gingerly, and turn from it as an entangling and secularising policy for the Church. Nothing is more common, and nothing is easier, than to sneer at the new ideal, and caution young preachers from going off on a gospel of sanitation, whitewash, better housing, and a living wage. It contains weightier matters, nobler elements than these, yet it does not call these common or unclean. "Have you not heard how it has gone with many a cause before now?" asks William Morris. "First, few men heed it ; next, men condemn it ; lastly, all men accept it." Our Civic Ideal must run the gauntlet till men are spiritual enough to understand that the present kingdom of Christ means the actual sanctification of all secular life. The conception of a Civic Church, regulating its membership not by creed, but by character, not by services done

in the sanctuary, but by duties done in secular spheres, is one, nevertheless, of the best and most hopeful signs of our *fin de siècle* movements ; and we use the words of soberness and truth when we say that the next stage in preaching and Church life will realise this dawning consciousness of the Citizen Christ, and that the twentieth century will make good in large civic achievements the Church's dominical prayer : " Father, thy kingdom come ; thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven."

To round back on our statement at the beginning, never perhaps has the type of the philosopher-King Citizen been approached so nearly as in the Greek city commonwealth at its best. Civic welfare took precedence of everything else ; the whole object of a Greek democracy was first to secure the poorer classes against oppression, and then to provide them with a larger share of material good. But the Greek city lacked the vital and creative element of Christianity. The citizens of the future must learn to combine in the commonwealth the Greek and the Christian notions of citizenship. We need to get back to the Greek ideal of the duty of man endowed with many

opportunities, to perform service to the State, to give freely of his substance and effort, not to private charity, but to the public good. We need also something more than the Greek ideal, fine as it is, even a sense of membership with one another which not only makes the strong wish to bear the burden of the weak, but brings a good citizen to a sense of responsibility for the failure of his fellows, and makes him ready to atone for the evil by the free gift of his own life. In proportion as men of this type develop in the State, hope will spring up for society's wastage, and the unpaid work which is so needful will never lack civic volunteers.

How is this brotherhood of love and duty and richest humanity to be called into abundant life and play?

Earnest observers of social tendencies are everywhere confessing a need of reaction against the prevailing laxity of public opinion and conduct. A note of unusual seriousness may be heard in the midst of the depressing infidelity and materialism of the age ; sensible men feel that the remedy needed is more than a moral renaissance, and can be nothing less than a re-

vival of religion. It must be a deepening of the life of the people, answering to the deepest nature of man. Is he essentially physical, and incidentally spiritual? Or is he essentially spiritual, and incidentally physical?

Without hesitation the reply should come that the spiritual man is, and must be, the master, and not the physical or natural man. Moral rules are not enough. A radical change, something organic and elemental, is needed in the current of men's thoughts and feelings. What is needed most of all is a new motive-power of love and sacrifice.

Now, the highest act of self-immolation ever witnessed on our planet was done at the bidding of a love that pitied and sought to save us. "The Son of Man came to give His life a ransom for many." "We love Him because He first loved us." We yield up our self-will to His diviner will. The charm which makes His love so potent is that we are giving up our will to One who is infinitely higher and more august than we, who gives us life in Himself for all that we surrender of our own, whose love is worth any other love, and better than all the blessings He can give or take away.

This motive-power is the fountain-head of Christian altruism and of devotion to the service of man ; it is the only effective dynamic for restoring the lost harmony and perfecting the social order. Nothing less than this will meet the requirement of our time. Another phase in this revival of religion careful students observe is a deep concern, not less for individual but still far more for social wellbeing. Instead of the old protest against religion having anything to do with business or social betterment, men are more awake to the conviction that nothing but religion can renovate mammonised business, corrupt politics, and atheistic socialism. Nothing but the motive-power of Christ's redeeming love can secure a true reconstruction of the highest moral ideals—the love of righteousness, the enthusiasm of virtue, the service of man. When these ideals live at the heart and motive the life, the kingdom of righteousness and love will be ushered in.

To reconcile the Christian elements of every man's inviolate worth and the brotherhood of men, or, in modern phrase, to adjust the forces of individualism and collectivism, is a question still in debate, and will be through the century.

It is right to lay the first emphasis on the individual, but it is also true that the mandate of individualism is already well exhausted, and we are now entering upon a period of reconstruction. The first stage of freedom is to remove all arbitrary and unreasonable barriers to individual initiative, and yet its full development is a far more complex structure, and must be the work of generations. The relation of personality to the social whole is likely to be a subject of inexhaustible concern, not only to economics and politics, but to ethics and religion.

Christ holds the key: let us be fellow-workers with Him.

CHAPTER II

RIGHTS OF CITIZENSHIP

THE first right of citizenship is liberty—the right of every man to be himself. It is freedom of the spirit which constitutes man's birthright and inalienable right, issuing again in freedom of thought, freedom of speech, freedom of action. Only through freedom can a complete worthy manhood be won ; only by its exercise can a strenuous civic life be carried on. The Greek aimed at something like it in the institution of free cities, yet was swayed by lusts and passions that make the veriest slaves. On the other hand, Christ takes the man so enslaved, and makes him free indeed with a radical deliverance from the bondage of iniquity. The right of every man to be himself is a treasure of countless price, and every other man is to respect it. It is not love, as Sir James Stephen observes in his book

on "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity," one asks from men, but justice and respect. We expect them to reverence the freedom which is our native possession, as that is, no doubt, what they ask from us.

Centuries had to pass before freedom took root in the common soil of human life. The peasant revolt and the Reformation of the fifteenth century were emancipation movements of the human mind in search of its long-lost heritage. In the year 1776 Americans placed in the preamble of the Declaration of Independence among inalienable rights these three birthrights—a right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. In our land the last century has witnessed the bounds of freedom slowly widening down from precedent to precedent. Just before its dawn the Physiocrats in France, and Adam Smith on this side of the Channel, taught with much earnestness the doctrine of "natural liberty," and declared a warm sympathy for the common people, who were robbed of the "free disposal" of their "most sacred and inviolable property," the labour of their hand, by vexatious regulations which hampered trade. "Break down," ex-

claims Adam Smith, "the exclusive privilege of corporations, and repeal the statute of apprenticeship, both which are real encroachments upon natural liberty, and add to these the repeal of the law of settlement." He had a passion for freedom, and his contention has prevailed: the relation of status has been superseded by the relation of contract; freedom of contract exists in the industrial world. All these affirmations of liberty have come about in the course of the last century. We have liberty of worship according to the dictates of conscience, freedom of the Press, and repeated extensions of the franchise. The political enfranchisement of the masses is well advanced: in the next stage it remains to be seen if full possession of political rights must end in manhood suffrage, and the admission of women to the same privilege as their inalienable right. The Christian conception of moral worth demands that each one be a person with full powers, opportunities, and responsibilities, claiming real freedom as the porchway to the fulness of life. There are various tendencies at present to impinge on the liberty of the individual, and they are fitted to sap the life

of the nation ; they can only be effectively met and overcome by a strenuous assertion of this first and foremost of human prerogatives.

There is a spiritual equality of a high and sacred kind, founded on every man's possession of an individual personality, of a rational and moral nature. It is an equality of worth, and therefore of consideration and respect, such as we concede to nothing else, not to the costliest chattel or the highest animal ; such as gives to the day-drudge a value never adequately measured, yet too often studiously ignored. Nor is this right to be gainsaid or curtailed in any way, because there is no such thing as equality of inward gift or outward lot among men. No such equality as that of natural endowment exists anywhere ; on the contrary, we observe the greatest disparity. Nature seems to have a delight in making men unequal, and persists in doing so. The most extreme advocate of equality need not hesitate to make such an admission. This inequality of natural gifts leads by the same law to an inequality of outward lot, and it is well to find it so, and not to have the work and play of

human life doomed to one monotonous and dreary level. It will always be more or less a problem of philosophy how exactly to reconcile the idea of spiritual equality with the evident facts of unequal endowments and conditions among men ; in the world of citizenship and practical politics the problem is how to secure the right of equality for every man without infringing the inequality of natural gifts.

Civil equality is that right which holds all men, be they rich or poor, titled or lowly-born, equal in the eye of the law. This right of all men to equal rights in the eye of the law is an instalment of equality which has been granted by all civilised societies. Equality of political privileges is a principle which has largely been effected during the past century. The growing intelligence among all classes of the community has made the concession of such a right to be a necessity. Statesmen have recognised that the putting of all men on a level one with another in point of civil and electoral privileges affords the strongest basis of contentment, the best security against revolution, the truest condition for the life of citizenship, and the broadest field for wise and just

reforms. After many struggles, the people have been at last admitted to equal political rights, and the fates of the Empire are now in their hands.

A third form of equality remains to be mentioned, one towards which the thoughts of men are turning with a seriousness that has had no parallel in the past. Economic equality is a phase of human rights seldom asserted in the course of history, except by a few writers of ideal commonwealths. Men argue that as there never has been equality of pocket in the world, therefore economic equality is not natural, and cannot be secured by any adjustment, legislative or otherwise. It may be that inequality of natural endowment will doom mankind for ever to inequality of outward lot. There have been rich and poor, and there will be to the end of the world, and with that truism men dismiss the claim of economic equality as an impossible ideal ; yet never was it so much desired and affirmed as at the present time. As popular education spreads and increases acquaintance with human rights, the idea of economic equality comes more and more to the front ; as the rights and powers of the

lower classes have been extended, and the feeling grows that equality has proved good in other spheres, the conviction gains ground that it ought to prove good in economics also. But the most powerful cause at work in strengthening this conviction must be found in the glaring contrasts of wealth and poverty that strike every student of modern democracies, and leave the impression that an element of grave injustice exists somewhere, else there could not be such inequalities of fortune. How the vast inequalities of fortune which mark the close of last century have come about, it is not difficult for the student of economics to explain.

An industrial revolution, as grave as that which France saw at the end of last century, has been slowly accomplished in England, and fixes our gaze at the beginning of the twentieth century. Adam Smith's "*Wealth of Nations*" did more than anything else to shape the economic course of events. He believed in the natural economic equality of men, and wished to promote, not only the wealth but the common wealth of nations. He believed that perfect industrial freedom would bring wealth and material wellbeing to the whole community.

But a fatal flaw penetrated his doctrine of industrial freedom. He sought to establish a free competition of equal industrial units, but what he actually helped to establish was the free competition of unequal industrial units. Liberty to him was the gospel of salvation, and he never dreamed that it could be otherwise. The contract which the workman makes with his master is a contract, not of equal with equal but of equal with unequal, in which the labourer has no chance of gaining a fair share of the growing wealth of the country.

At the end of a century of this industrial revolution we behold the result of a process in which tens of thousands of modest competencies have vanished to reappear as huge fortunes in single hands ; we find valuable opportunities of making wealth appropriated by a class, the trade and commerce of the nation turned into an entrenched camp of monopoly ; we see the mass of the people placed in economic subjection, the freedom of labour becoming only liberty to starve ; we hear the cry of the plebs, silent so long, now demanding justice, almost threatening to take its share by force, and we tremble at the fratricidal class-warfare.

Happily we are not in the habit of saying in England that we have no revolutions, or, to quote Sir John Seeley, "it would be almost more accurate to say that we have always a revolution. We have always a revolution, and therefore in a certain sense we never have a revolution." Just as in the bygone century the people have gradually emerged from the long disability of social and political serfdom, so the programme of economic equality is likely to hold the field through the twentieth century.

We move to a stage in which, for a long period to come, legislation will aim at securing to all the members of the community the right to be admitted to the rivalry of life, as far as possible, on a footing of equality of opportunity.

Theorists of the last century made large and loud professions of a world-wide Fraternity, yet, as Burke says, Rousseau was "a lover of his kind, but a hater of his kindred," and the French enactors of theory turned their Fraternity Creed into the "homicide philanthropy" of the guillotine. The word Fraternity needs to be baptized in the spirit of prayer which knows a higher relation, and prays, "Our Father, which art in heaven."

Man is to be partner with us in any good of life up to the measure in which we claim and have it for ourselves ; he owes to us brotherliness of conduct, and we owe the same to him. No jealousy can find a place in the fellowship of brethren ; no rivalry can provoke to anger the good understanding of sons. Brotherhood shows the tie between master and workman to be something more than a cash-nexus. It tends to counteract that spirit of isolating competition which disturbs neighbourliness, and helps us to strive after the noble ideal when " man to man, the world o'er " they shall be brothers. The Gospel of the Kingdom of God taught by Christ is a kingdom in which the ideas of brotherhood, the solidarity of human life, mutual relations, and common aims are its most seminal ideas and its most trusted bonds. Lecky calls it " a proclamation of the universal brotherhood of man," and the witness of history is borne to its noble system of ethics, the affection of its members one for another, the devotion of all to corporate welfare, and the presence everywhere of actual brotherly ties.

In these affirmations of Freedom, Equality, and Brotherhood the rights of all citizens are

involved. Such rights belong to every man as a person and a moral being, and they are in a true sense Divine rights. These notes of our Christian charter are simple corollaries from Christ's doctrine of man's intrinsic worth. Regeneration is His discovery of that worth, making a man know that he is born of God, and has therefore an equality in the eye of God which no earth-born superiority can match. Redemption is His purchase of man's freedom from all the captivities of evil. Consecration is His binding of man's powers to the glory of a Father-God in the service of his Brother-man. From these spiritual rights proclaimed by Christ flow those secular rights which Paine and his philosophical contemporaries advocated before their time—the right of every man to be treated as equal with the highest in the eye of the law, and to be equal with the most gifted in the exercise of the franchise ; the right to equal opportunity with the richest in obtaining labour and its fair reward, so that life shall not be one monotonous grind to win a livelihood ; the right to be an independent and strenuous citizen, and not to be treated by political economists as a cipher in a great sum, or by captains of industry

as useful drudges in the piling up of their wealth : the right to brotherhood, sympathy, and aid, in the social organism, where all are to be "members one of another." Without the possession and exercise of such rights, it is impossible to realise the practical worth of citizenship.

It is needless to discuss with moral philosophers whether man's rights follow from his duties, and can only be derived from them, or whether they are not consequences of duty, but immediate contents of an objective order of right. Enough should it be for us to know that the fundamental law of rights is contained in the maxim, "Be a person, and respect others as persons," and that they are our God-given equipment for playing a worthy part in the scenes that lie open to the life of citizenship.

CHAPTER III

DUTIES OF CITIZENSHIP

IT has been said that the last century had three distinct waves passing over it, bearing in their bosom the ideal elements of a nation's best life. The first wave was the great movement for political emancipation and reform—a movement to secure equal political rights for all, and now almost accomplished. The second was the great religious and awakening movement, which has gained a new vision of the ethical and altruistic forces in the gospel of Christ, and made the Sermon on the Mount to be regarded, not as a far-off ideal, but an applicable programme in every department of human life. The third was the great municipal movement, which seeks to create in all the cities of the Empire, great or small, a healthy physical environment, and to provide elementary public schools and libraries, open spaces and playing fields, for the in-

tellectual and social life of the community. The Christian ought to be the highest type of citizenship among his fellows. The great Church Fathers, like Augustine and Cyril, Ambrose and Chrysostom, laboured to make the cities in which they dwelt a part of the City of God. Savonarola taught the old Florentines to choose, by a solemn Civic Act, the Lord Jesus Christ as the King of their city. John Knox, the brave, far-seeing hero-priest, "wore out," to use Carlyle's phrase, "in toil, calumny, contradiction, a noble life to make a God's kingdom of this earth." Maurice, Kingsley, and Shaftesbury set themselves like crusaders a generation ago to rectify the social and industrial grievances of our people ; a large number, in our time, plead more effectively for practical righteousness, alike in daily conduct and national policy, while a new spirit is passing like a "great revival" through the people. Civic ideals of almost unique magnificence are more and more taking hold of the public mind. It is the duty of every citizen to build up, as far as in him lies, the life of the great civic brotherhood to which he belongs in righteousness and the fear of God.

A citizen has rights which, if they be assailed, he must maintain at any price. Certain privileges, immunities, and opportunities must be guaranteed, that he may be equipped to play a worthy part in the larger scenes opening out to the life of citizenship. There is no need for any one to set light store on rights ; he claims them simply as conditions necessary to take his place, and do his part, in public life. Of all modern teachers Mazzini has perhaps most clearly interpreted the mind of Christ in regard to rights and duties. The central conviction of his book on the "Duties of Man," made so luminous in his dedicated life, is that all the blood shed for rights would be water spilt on the ground, if men did not fill their lives with those great positive ends to which rights are but precursors. Christ insists on duties, and the ideal Christian citizen learns therefore to value his rights as opportunities to do his duties.

He is a man with ideals of life and duty which uplift to strenuous performance. Every man has ideals or daydreams he lives by, and they mar or make his life. Now, the real citizen is one who recognises the influence of great ideals, and welcomes concrete changes that make for their

realisation. He seeks to have his vision purged of all prejudice through acquaintance with by-gone and existing facts : he tests the ideal by the real, the possible future by the actual past. He rejects as a defective ideal the ambition, much lauded among us, of building up a fortune on the keenest competitive plan of doing business, and then spending it on the philanthropic method of endowing free libraries or building churches. He loves righteousness and hates iniquity ; is free to do everything but be disloyal to principle ; honours truth more than party ; leads, rather than follows, public opinion, and, leading it, will make it come round to him, or die in the effort. This is the ideal citizen—

“This is the happy Warrior, this is he
Whom every man in arms should wish to be.”

The ideal citizen is one who does not live unto himself, but lives under the transcendent pressure of redeeming love. Our Christian Gospel presents to the world an actual Character which, arrayed in loveliness of perfect deeds, has been at once the highest pattern of virtue and the mightiest instigation to its attainment, and this has for eighteen centuries moved the hearts of

men with an impassioned love for rights against wrong, for truth against error. The heart of our gospel is a Saviour seeking men by the offering of Himself. He found life for others by the gift of His own blood. Here is the heart of the gospel, and it must be the heart of our citizenship. In all ideal citizenship there is the shedding of blood : sacrifice and service mark the way of the Christ through history to His kingdom, and so must our citizenship be in order to be worthy of the Gospel of Christ. It is the best Christianship that makes the best citizenship. The Christian ideal is the ideal of a kingdom of organised love.

The enthusiast of to-day must not degenerate into the cynic of to-morrow. The more strenuous his civic life may be, the more he will have to do with the dead inertia of his fellows ; therefore must he learn to " endure such contradiction of sinners against himself, lest he be wearied and faint in his mind." As a student of Evolution, he knows through what vast and solemn ages the Creator has wrought to make earth a fit abode for man, and he will have need of like patience as he remembers how slowly social evolution acts with regard to any definite ascent of man.

Besides, the problems which confront the citizen of a modern State are problems of gravest importance. Unexampled in their urgency, they are likewise unexampled in their complexity, and require the most mature, delicate, and patient treatment. It is necessary to remember that in contentions for the right we can never dispense with a charity which "suffereth long and is kind."

As one who does not live unto himself, the ideal citizen thinks more of his duties than of his rights. Indeed, we have "no rights but duties," if we recall what others have done for us, and never can our obligations be discharged in full. We must remain debtors to the end : therefore are we debtors to all who need us. The aims of a Christian citizenship are social rather than personal. He who is strenuous in its exercise illustrates the play of individuality to its highest degree, and will be the best citizen just as he is himself out and out ; yet the organic conception of life rules his spirit. He is not concerned with the individual as such ; he does not view the individual in isolation, but in relation to that body of which he ought to be a healthful and health-giving member. He seeks to take

part in all that pertains to the good of the "little Platoon," the immediate society around him. Whatever clearness of head, incorruptibility of heart, power of speech, and capacity for business he has at his command, he is willing to lay out in the service of the village, the town, or the city in which he dwells. It should be his aim to foster and strengthen and purify the civic atmosphere, to promote and diffuse a public spirit in which sentiments of truth, and liberty, and right shall mightily prevail. Many of the best men do not care to fortify such a public spirit, or to offer their services to the community by which they live ; they are like the trees in Jotham's parable that said : " Shall we leave our fatness, our sweetness, our good cheer, to run up and down for the other trees ? " It is a peculiar temptation of men of culture and refinement to decline the tasks of civic social improvement, to sin against the Divine law which binds gifts to service. But he who has the mind of Christ does not stand aside from such functions and services as increase public welfare. Neither business nor pleasure, nor disgust at vulgar proceedings, nor that most aggravating of trials, social apathy, ought to deter him from the

humblest duty. If it did, he would not be a good citizen.

It goes without saying that the obligations of civic life are superior to all political parties, and should in the main be treated without reference to any of them. "Don't meddle with politics" is a common advice, and very good too, if it means that the Church should not be partisan in its politics, or involved in any struggle for political power. The Church is freer and more powerful in its spiritual capacity when it is disengaged from all alliances with the State. "Don't meddle with politics" is good advice for the citizen, if it means the exclusion of party spirit from the civic sphere; but if the meaning be that he is not to be interested in politics at all, the meddlesomeness lies at the door of those who give the advice. Ministers of religion should keep out of party politics, but there is another field from which, if they are warned, they should refuse to go. It is necessary for them to purge the patriotism which cries vulgarly and coarsely along the street, and to leaven it with the patriotism and the spirit of Christ. It is incumbent on them to see that the national imagination and conscience are

sanctified and governed by the ideals of Christ. In the civic sphere it is expedient to keep out all partisan views in politics.

A widespread feeling exists that the State owes great duties to the citizens under it, especially to those who suffer from disabilities of unequal condition and opportunity, and that citizens more favoured in the race owe great duties to the State.

The Church runs a risk of getting out of touch with the people's questions and the broader needs of humanity. It is feared that the Church may, under some notion of prudence or timidity, hold austere aloof from the deep, powerful currents of our time, and be left behind, while the State drifts on to an era of soul-deadening Socialism on the one hand and of religious decadence and political insolvency on the other.

Popularly elected bodies of all kinds have been everywhere created, such as Parish and County Councils, and those who can measure such a fact will admit that no greater boon has been added to the self-government of the people. With the powers they already have, and the devolution and delegation of others sure to follow, they may be able to open up the land, redress the

grievances of the drink traffic, and deal with other formidable evils which beset the wellbeing of our country. Such changes secure the best good of the community by enabling the citizens to take an interest in their own immediate affairs, and work out their own salvation, hampered by the least possible interference from Government.

No sooner has this programme of rights and powers been exhausted than both parties of the State are confronted with problems which for difficulty and urgency cannot be equalled by any of the struggles in the past. The two historic parties stand perplexed before the new time, and the Church has hardly intelligence of it to know what to do. The old watchwords lose their spell, and the nation waits for the vibrant voice of leaders on whom has come a larger faith. To-day's watchwords are not those of Cobden and Bright—not *laissez-faire*—but rather a judicious use of the power of the State for the attainment of equal conditions and equal opportunities to each and all. The steps of social evolution are mere preliminaries to higher stages, preparing the way for the study and solution of those problems which loom up so portentously on the horizon.

It should be the aim of Church and State to train all their members to a large understanding of citizen rights and a strenuous discharge of citizen obligations, to do utmost justice to the principles on which a stable and righteous society can be built up, to utilise perfectly all the organs and instruments of popular self-government in the illustration of true citizenship, and to draw from highest sources of inspiration the most effective aid for translating the virtues of an ideal citizen into character and life. It is our duty to stimulate and encourage local patriotism in the best sense ; to quicken the sense of citizenship, the feeling of corporate responsibility, the power of the social conscience ; to tell the most cultured no less than the most illiterate person that he is an unworthy citizen, an element of evil, so long as he lives to himself, and renders no unpaid service to the community in which he resides. It should be our business to prepare men duly qualified, as just and honourable men, fearing God and hating covetousness, to fulfil citizen duties, and afford to the community the best types of effective citizenship. On well-established lines of democratic government, the Church is summoned to teach

her members that the duty of serving on elective boards as town councillors, Board School managers, and guardians of the poor, is as necessary and religious as in any department of Church work, such as the Eldership, the Sunday School, or the Mission District. This should be part of her testimony, on the ground that municipal institutions and functions offer the widest possible field for beneficent activity, and exert an influence more powerful for good than anything else. They are the most potent instruments that have been devised for adding to the happiness and welfare of the whole community. Whatever be the intellectual gifts or otherwise of citizens, they can find ample scope for an honourable ambition in civic work. Even members of the aristocracy welcome the invitation to take part in the work of those corporations, metropolitan or provincial. There are peers of the realm and citizens of the highest eminence who have been, or are, members of County Councils and School Boards, or mayors and provosts of Town Councils. We want the most experienced and the best men, come they from the House of Lords or anywhere else, to lend dignity and weight to municipal life.

Three things are of prime necessity to render civic functions what they ought to be. It is of the utmost importance that the citizens themselves take a keen and intelligent interest in municipal affairs. The great desideratum everywhere is that the masses of the people interest themselves as much in matters of the city as in matters of the Empire, and should do so without falling into a narrow and parochial spirit. If citizens show a lack of local patriotism under the fear of being dubbed provincial, they betray a pitiable weakness, and must be held responsible for the inefficiency and waste likely to ensue. We want to see a civic enthusiasm, a strong public spirit, a fullness of intelligent and fearless sentiments in the whole community, which no sectional or family influence can overawe.

Did such an independent public life prevail, the second requisite would follow—the best men would be selected to lead in municipal affairs. The ablest citizens and men of character ought to be put in charge of civic offices. The duty of all citizens is to choose honest, straightforward, level-headed persons to represent them ; capable men with business experience—men who have

succeeded in their own affairs, not busybodies who think themselves fitted for public life after showing themselves unfitted for everything else—men, above all, of incorruptible integrity, who will not bow their head to the spoiler, who will at once put aside the claims of privileged parties when the welfare of the community at large is concerned.

A third duty of citizenship is that the permanent officials be men of such ability and such integrity—loyal to the right and alive to the public good. If the best men are needed for municipal work, the permanent officials ought to be, as Mr. Chamberlain once said, the ablest and most skilful that love or money could procure.

The whole machinery of the Constitution ought to be utilised in carrying out and making to prevail the Church's manifesto of the kingdom of God—the ideal of righteousness, equality, brotherhood, social stability, and general welfare. No limit should be set to the sphere of her action; no department of life should be passed by. Industry, home-life, civic statesmanship, politics, the world of science and art, of literature and recreation—her gracious concept of the kingdom of God should permeate

and purify all. If the Church set herself to this task, backed by no authority but Divine truth and constrained by no motive but Divine love, her citizens could permanently lift the whole of public life from the quagmire of selfishness, secularity, and animalism in which it is stuck, could make national religion a paramount fact, and change a nation of traders and seamen into a commonwealth of patriotic and Christian citizens.

There are many directions in which spontaneous and voluntary efforts of civic righteousness may be organised to fight against all conditions that breed disease and immorality, and to promote all causes that increase the health and leisure and amenity of life. Social centres of all kinds should exist within municipal areas to thresh out complex social questions, to examine insanitary dwellings and report, to deal with the evils of intemperance and devise measures for their suppression, to sift the elements of pauperism and organise the giving and receipt of charity, to devise and recommend plans for beautifying our civic environments. The provinces of social and corporate activity have been and are being continually enlarged,

and if those centres for common work are not as efficient as they might be, it is simply due to the lack of individual volunteers to undertake it. There need be no theorising over the respective provinces of social or corporate and individual or private enterprise.

A strenuous citizen will always be an Individualist, but he should always be willing to work in harness and co-operate with his fellow-citizens. Social Unions are good movements, and never so good as when the private members glow with a desire for social service. Institutions that form a home and a headquarters for all the social effort of the neighbourhood, that mean business and do not merely play at social reform, ought to be multiplied. It is not by institutions, however, but by men and women, not by societies, but by individual enterprise, that the best work is done. The true basis of all civic wellbeing lies in personal service, based, if possible, on economic study of the widest and most thorough kind.

True citizenship means, then, a life consecrated to the services which make every community a part of the City of God. It should cherish a high idea of what the town or city is.

It is not a collection of factories, of shops or warehouses, with a West End for the wealthy and an East End where the poor are penned in long, unlovely streets. Such was not the idea of the Greek *polis* or Roman *civitas*, and eighteen centuries of Christianity have added nobler elements, and ought to evoke a finer patriotism among us. "The modern Civitas Dei," some one has said, "must be an equal brotherhood of mutual service and love, not built in some far-off future dreamland, but to be laboured for, and one day realised, on earth ; a city coming down, indeed, out of the heaven of ideals, but builded square and solid on this earth of God." And this is the City of Man for which we should pray and work. With such a Gospel of Rights and Duties for our Christian birthright, let us, not in the vain conceit of a bland optimism, but in the strong spirit of Faith, Hope, and Charity, stand on our watchtower and see how

"Down the happy future runs a flood
Of prophesying light:
It shows an earth no longer stained with blood,
Blossom and fruit where now we see the bud
Of Brotherhood and Right."

CHAPTER IV

THE PROBLEM OF THE CHILD

AS it has often been said of the Land Question, so it may be said about child life—that it is the fundamental question, and lies at the root of all our social problems. The child is the most important asset of the nation ; the young are citizens in the making, and therefore both Church and State ought to focus their best efforts on the nurture of childhood and the shaping of character in the period of youth. In “ Stones of Venice ” John Ruskin said : “ I hold it to be indisputable that the first duty of every State is to see that every child born therein shall be well housed, clothed, fed, and educated till it attain years of discretion. But in order to the effecting this, the Government must have an authority over the people of which we now do not so much as dream.” Greater names still can be quoted in confirmation of what is due to the child. Plato desires “ that our young men, dwelling, as

it were, in a healthful region, may drink in good from every quarter, and be won imperceptibly from their earliest childhood into resemblance, love, and harmony with the true beauty of reason." Froebel writes: "Of children, too, is the kingdom of heaven; for, unchecked by the presumption and conceit of adults, they yield themselves in childlike trust and cheerfulness to their formative and creative instincts." An Old Testament Psalmist prays "that our sons may be as plants grown up in their youth, and our daughters as corner-stones, polished after the similitude of a palace." Never can we exhaust the significance of Christ's tender plea, "Suffer the little children to come unto Me, and forbid them not, for of such is the kingdom of heaven." There is evidence of a very sad kind that the Church as well as the State has been woefully negligent of the nation's most valuable asset, and that the observation made by the African Chief, King Khama, when in this country, is painfully true: "You English take great care of your goods, but you throw away your children." The question of the children of the nation has called forth an abundant and pathetic literature on the subject within the last

year or two. "The Bitter Cry of the Children," "Studies of Boy Life in our Cities," "Child Slaves of Britain," are a few titles of volumes that handle a tragic state of things. Reports of Infantile Mortality in Edinburgh and Dundee, and Government Reports on Deterioration, Physical Training, and Employment of School Children, furnish some of the saddest chapters ever published in connection with "the slaughter of the innocents." It is too vast a subject for a chapter; we can only outline the problem of the child in the hope of arousing thought and leading to further inquiries.

There are 7,500,000 children under the age of ten on the registers of elementary schools in England and Wales; 1,200,000 births per annum take place in the United Kingdom, and 700,000 deaths, of whom one-sixth are infants under a year old. The general death-rate in Glasgow for last year was only 17.5, but that of children remained nearly the same, about 131, per 1,000—seven times higher than that of the general population. It is a pleasure to record here that in Cowcaddens, a highly congested part of the city, a scheme of visitation has been in force, and Mrs. Gourlay, President

of the B.W.T.A., one of the visitors, states that the death-rate has been reduced 24 per 1,000 as the result of this benevolent effort. The rate of infantile mortality varies from town to town, and is much greater in the town than in the country, and higher among the poor than among other classes. In Bournville, a garden city outside Birmingham, only 1 child in 16 dies before reaching the age of twelve months ; in the one-roomed tenements of London the proportion is 223 per 1,000, and in the town of Preston it rises to 236. That infantile mortality is not altogether owing to poverty or bad housing is shown by the fact that among the Jews, who are devoted parents and careful about feeding, the death-rate, even in the poorest districts, is remarkably low. Defective nourishment and carelessness in regard to food mainly account for the terrible waste of life among infants. Thirty per cent., or 13,000,000 people, are on or under the poverty line, and it is estimated that out of 100 bottle-fed babies 50 die before they are a year old ; of 100 breast-fed, only 7. In " The Bitter Cry of the Children " Mr. Spargo attributes to poverty the death of 80,000 infants ; ignorant and drunken mothers are in the habit

of feeding the little innocents on patent foods, often no better than patent poisons, on bread and potatoes, on ice-cream and whisky. A popular writer lately made a tour of inspection among public-houses, and what burned most into his conscience was the sight of little children kept till late at night in the poisonous atmosphere of the gin-palace, and acquiring in their mothers' arms the fatal taint of alcoholism.¹ So very early does the blight fall, and continue to the end of life. Factory inspectors tell us that thousands of infants die for want of mothering. First among causes that explain wastage of child-life is the employment of female labour in mills. The mother's immediate return to work after her confinement necessitates nursing out the child, or her ignorance of nursing results in the house air being foul and poisonous, in a woeful neglect as regards cleanliness, and in the use of unwholesome food.

Add to all this dire tale of infant mortality the ominous feature discovered by the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children that last year 31,518 neglected children were *insured* for £164,887. Remember also that a

¹ Happily, this condition of things has been altered by the Children Act, 1909.

check in the birth-rate of the population and an advance in the death-rate of children are two of the gravest features of our time, manifest chiefly wherever a large urban population and a great manufacturing activity go together. For Scotland in 1907 the number of births was 3,356 less than the average of the previous five years. Such facts as these give ground for serious reflection to all right-minded men.

But while we grieve for those who are taken, what about those who are left? There are greater tragedies than the death of a little child. There are forces which not only kill the body but ruin both body and soul. Under modern conditions it is a wonder to see the children managing to struggle up into life at all. One of the chief factors in the physical as well as the mental and moral deterioration of the race is the gathering of our people into cities. The simple food and pure air of the country are invaluable in rearing a healthy nation, but country life means much more than that. If man shall not live by bread alone, but by every wondrous word and unknowable work of God, surely contact with Nature—the wild flower by the wayside, the green grass, and running water

—is infinitely precious to childhood, and its absence a loss which can never be repaired.

Heredity as well as environment counts for much in favour of the child. For, in spite of some hereditary tendencies, medical men assure us that children of the poorer no less than of the well-to-do class are “born physically healthy,” and that “Nature intends all to have a fair chance”; and if the fair start which Nature guarantees were accompanied by healthy nourishment and happy surroundings, there would still be among us the sturdy vitality of an imperial and colonising race instead of its gradual disappearance in the huddled mazes of the city and the languishing decays of the village. Nature does her best for us, but we do our best to annul her healthy work. For what do we see in almost any city or town of our land? Multitudes of children in feeble bodies, ragged clothes, with sore eyes and filthy heads, and other signs which bear witness to the dismal and squalid surroundings in which they are born and spend their lives. What are the causal factors which create the problem of the child, and mar the making of the citizen in such large masses for the people. A first

place must be given to the intemperate habits prevalent among us. Alcohol works perhaps the largest amount of mischief with the child, and goes back farther than any malign influence, even to affecting pre-natal conditions, and passing by an evil heredity into the constitution of the unborn child. It would not be easy to tell in adequate terms the terrible blight that is the curse of drunken homes—the burns and scalds, the starvations and woeful neglects of the little ones entailed by that curse. Next in importance of evil causes stands the dire fact of poverty. The investigations of Messrs. Booth and Rown-tree show that one-third of the nation's children are born where their chance of even the necessities of a child's life is at best precarious ; they have not enough to eat, or sufficient clothes to keep them warm. Poor feeding lies at the base of all forms of degeneracy. It turns out “ a physique unsuitable for the more strenuous service of life, and with no defence against the germs of disease and the habits of vice that find a ready prey in the weak and unfit.” A third danger to the child arises from bad housing, from insanitary dwellings. One-roomed tenements and over-crowded areas work incal-

culable harm on the present and future of children. Eight millions and more of people are "housed, washed and watered worse than our horses." Diseases are most rife in the close courts and alleys, the shut-in or blocked-up lanes, and, above all, the houses built back to back, with no through ventilation. The Medical Officer of Health for Glasgow has studied the relation of housing to the growth of the child. "The average weight of the one-roomed boy is 52.6 lbs. ; of the two-roomed, 56 lbs. ; of the three-roomed 60.6 lbs. ; of the four-roomed and over, 64.3 lbs. The respective heights are 46.6 inches, 48.1 inches, 50 inches, and 51.3 inches."

Follow the several stages through which childhood passes to maturity and to what should be a fair start in life. We have considered the first stage of one year, when, literally speaking, a slaughter of the innocents is brought about by ignorance, drunkenness, laziness, and poverty. The second stage lies between one and five years of age, when the children toddle out of doors, spend the day in the street gutters, or play in back courts not many yards from the ashpit. They are dosed with black tea and bread ; they are underclothed, unkempt, and often unwashed ;

sitting in sunless courts or on chilling pavements, and getting to rest in a fetid atmosphere after ten o'clock at night. These are the victims for whom science at the present time does little or nothing, and on whom no special attention is bestowed by local authorities. We owe such statements to Mr. Fyfe, Sanitary Inspector of Glasgow, who knows what he has seen, and pictures the conditions of the second stage thus: "Down in dingy lanes, where misery and hopelessness dwell, where the pawnshop stands as a too ready auxiliary to the public-house, where is no brightness to inspire, no comfort to alleviate, no religion to console"; and such are the breeding-places of the Huns and Vandals whom Lord Macaulay warns us of as threatening to wreck our civilisation.

The third stage is when these children are drafted into primary schools, and the medical inspector finds them with impaired senses of vision and hearing, and suffering from diseases of the skin and head. At the outset the child begins school life with impaired vitality and with lack of nutritious food, with an impoverished brain.

A Committee of the London County Council

investigated the home circumstances of children who were receiving meals in twelve selected schools. The schools were chosen from areas representing all classes of poverty. In some, gaunt poverty dwelt alone ; in others it lay at the back doors of wealth and luxury. A third class included the lower middle class, while casual labourers and criminals made up the others. In addition to this valuable information we learn the startling fact that of the 4,398 underfed children, by far the largest proportion of the cases of semi-starvation are due to "intemperate and wasteful" parents ; for while actual unemployment was responsible for 166, "drink and waste" sent 1,940 children starving to school. These typical schools enable us to ascertain that the maximum number of children in a nominal year in London so conditioned is at least 50,000. The investigation is an illuminating document to all who see in the health of the children the hope and pledge of the future wellbeing of the State.

A similar examination of school children has been carried out by the Govan School Board, with the result that we find the average height and weight for the whole 12,643 children

are below the standard. The children of five years of age who go to school are picked children, and at that age the height and weight practically reach the standard, but there is an immediate drop below the standard beyond that age. From six years to nine years of age the drop in height is from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 inches below the standard, and the drop in weight has at eight years of age reached 4.2 lbs., and at nine years of age 6.7 lbs. Regarding the tests for acuity of vision, the returns of children of Bella-houston Academy, a better-class school, were 45 per cent., while those of Lambhill Street School, in a very poor district, were only 3.2 per cent. School doctors elsewhere report a lowering of the average height and weight in working-class communities. In one school in Edinburgh 70 per cent. of the children are said to be unsound or defective in some way. In a well-to-do school of Dundee the proportion of healthy scholars was 61.04, and in a less sanitary district it was 6.48. Where physical deterioration arises, it is followed by mental enfeeblement, and moral degeneration also ensues.

Towards the close of school life the half-time

system comes into operation, and hundreds of thousands of children are subjected to its deteriorating influence. In proof of the same take the following: Children in the Nottingham lace trade have their eyesight impaired or destroyed by the double work of school and employment. The half-timers of Belfast are under-sized, round-shouldered, delicate in appearance; the head teacher testifying that they seem always tired, and prefer at recreation-time sitting down to running about like children who do not work.

At the risk of anticipating somewhat, we go on to say that the period from five to fifteen should be sacredly set apart to develop physical and mental efficiency, for as soon as ever a too-indulgent law allows, the child is sent to earn a few shillings for his parents by any odd job which may be waiting for a spare boy. "He learns the rough lessons of the street-corner—there is no other place for him to play—but he learns no useful occupation. Boys from slums do not go to continuation schools unless compelled, and who in this free country would dare to compel them? When the time for odd jobs is over, there is nothing for him but casual

labour or loafing, unemployment or crime." R. H. Sherard, author of "The Child Slaves of Britain," estimates the number of children between five and fifteen worked beyond their strength to be not less than 500,000. An extract from Mr. Cope Cornford's book, "The Canker at the Heart," enforces this point still further: "Another and most fatal cause of mischief is the custom of employing boys at unskilled labour, at boys' wages, until they are eighteen or so, when they are promptly discharged to make room for more boys. There are thousands of sturdy youths, of eighteen to twenty or twenty-five, hopelessly trying to get unskilled work. Their parents have set them to earn so soon as they have left school, in order that the money may go into the common stock."

By these stages we come to the last and most perplexing phase of the problem—that of the young hooligan, a peculiar product of modern city life, not confined to our cities, but to be found in New York and Paris as well as in London and Glasgow. The hooligan is the child let loose on society just when he has passed out of the school, with all the love of adventure and excitement, with all the passion for de-

struction which belong to youth, but without any of the restraints that form character and control conduct. He is a rude, untamed savage in the midst of the refinements and sympathies of our modern civilisation. Hooliganism is a sort of night-larking which leads bands of youths to promenade the poorer streets of the city, to assault respectable passers-by, and to behave generally with an utter disregard to moral decency. The hooligan is not an old habitual criminal, but a criminal in the embryonic stage. As our whole School Board system somehow fails to be a moral discipline, and has sent him forth without technical education or training in some future handicraft, so from fifteen to twenty we find him serving an apprenticeship to crime, or inevitably drifting into the ranks of the casual labourer or the hopelessly unemployable. These cowardly libertines of the street are a blot on our civilisation and a scandal to our city life.

To sum up the problem of the child: Some 30 per cent. of the people of the richest country of the world live in a condition of poverty, which barely allows them food and house-room for an average family, and no other surplus for

any other object of expenditure. We have to recognise that the conditions of poverty tend to maintain and accentuate it ; that insufficient food and bad, unhealthy dwellings breed a race of ill-fed, under-sized children ; that the struggle for life shortens the education of these children, and throws them on the streets to earn their own living when they ought to be acquiring a trade ; that the bad sanitary conditions with which the poor must put up sap the vigour which might have redeemed them from poverty, and stimulate the desire for drink which deepens their poverty.

SOLUTION.

Children, in body and mind, are plastic for good or evil, and if they could spend their short and vital early years among healthy, happy surroundings, and grow up therein to a good, robust, and serviceable manhood and womanhood, the nation would stand out, Sir Oliver Lodge says, " from among the rest of the world. . . . People will say it would cost too much. Nothing of the kind can cost too much."

First—In regard to the building up of the body and the possession of physical fitness; the child ought to be properly fed. "First the

body must be trained," said Aristotle, "and then the understanding." In thousands of cases the want of proper nourishment is due to thriftless, ignorant, and intemperate parents ; but the children must be fed, even though the State or municipality should have to bear the expense. In London alone, 120,000 children attending elementary schools are seriously under-fed, and it is cruel to expect them to master simple school tasks. In France, Italy, Switzerland, Belgium, and Sweden, State subsidies are provided. At the same time, there should be legal enactment to secure the cost from defaulting parents. It is the School Board's duty to check deterioration, and "all that is required is to improve the standard of living, and in one or two generations the ground that has been lost will be recovered."

Second—Strengthen the Factory Acts, requiring mothers to abstain from work before and after the children are born, that the latter may have a fair start in life. In Switzerland the law enacts that a mother must leave work two months before and two months after the coming of the child. "Surely a child has an inalienable right to a mother's care ; yet thousands of little ones are deprived of that."

Third.—It is necessary to provide municipal milk shops, that the milk given to infants may be preserved from contamination. “Back to the breast” is the lesson which George R. Sims’s “Cry of the Children” emphasises, for no other food can adequately take the place of mother’s milk. In its absence, of course, the best is that from the cow, but, through insanitary methods of production and distribution it is often a very undesirable food for infants. Such milk depôts give striking figures to show the saving of infant life. In the Liverpool depôt the mortality was 78 per thousand, as against 159 for the whole city.

Fourth.—A mission to mothers themselves respecting the proper nourishment of infants has been tried in Huddersfield, Glasgow, and other towns, with good results. Alderman Broadbent, of Huddersfield, signalised his term of office in 1904-5 by offering a gift of a guinea for every infant who should live to be twelve months old. A card on baby feeding was issued by the corporation, and every mother was visited by a lady competent to give instruction as to child nurture. The result of the experiment was a marked decrease of infant mortality. In

Glasgow, a Visitors' Association, in close touch with the Health Department, and covering the whole city, has been formed to save child life, and it is hoped that soon there will be eight hundred ladies connected with it to carry out this philanthropic work. *Schools for mothers* might be opened to instruct young mothers in tending and treating children.

Fifth—Which takes us from the building of the body to the unfolding of the mind. The education of the child should largely begin with play. Children from tenements and cellar-dwellings, cooped up in a maze of sunless courts, should get their lost inheritance of joy in the school, which should at first be to them a bright, sunny playroom, whose walls are hung with coloured pictures of life and beauty. How is the energy of the city child to find an outlet, seeing he is so largely shut out from the great green earth, where mind as well as body can have a real chance of normal development? The public prosecutor of one of our large towns was, in his official capacity, making a census of juvenile crime, and quite accidentally, as one might say, he found that exactly in proportion to the extent of the open spaces in and around

a town the juvenile crime decreased. Therefore among the most pressing needs of town children—and the majority of the children of our nation are town children—we must put the want of open spaces to play in. School Boards should utilise their large empty buildings and playgrounds to the children's need, and municipalities might find it to be to their interest to provide play-centres for their youngest citizens, so squashed together, and with nowhere to develop their muscles. Play is the work of a child and the happiness of a child. Without play, the mind would not be developed.

Sixth—Abolish the *half-timer* system, and let the child come and take part in school exercises with fresh, untired body and mind. In the period of education between five and fifteen years of age, the mind of the child should not only be well grounded in the three R.'s, but become an instrument of intellectual pursuits, that will not stop short, as at present, in the miserable fiasco of a devouring appetite for trashy novels.* Mrs. Humphry Ward has wrought nobly to break the vicious circle of environment round children, and testifies that the hunger of the older children for handwork came to her as

a great revelation, and showed how much could be done to encourage handicrafts among advanced pupils.

Seventh—Which deals with a fair start in life, and should stop the mischievous custom of setting young people, hardly out of the school, to unskilled work, so as to make money for unthrifty and indolent parents. Both are eager for earnings, and prefer 10s. now to 35s. in the distant future. Hence an army of unskilled labourers. Parents commit a great wrong when they fail to give their boys a trade. Every boy should be taught a skilled trade. We ought to adopt the German system, under which lads between fourteen and seventeen are allowed so many half-days off in a week to go to a technical school. Every workman should be encouraged to take a course of technical instruction. There should be a revival of the old practice of apprenticeship. This is necessary to make efficient citizens and give dignity to labour.

Eighth—The budding crop of vice and crime must be stopped at its source. The Prison Commissioners of Scotland set themselves the task of discovering why and when sixty selected prisoners took the wrong path of life. Exceed-

ingly valuable was the result of the inquiry. It was not lack of education that proved a source of crime, and in spite of the startling fact that the greater number had been to Sunday School in early years, yet between the ages of sixteen and twenty they had taken the wrong course. Such is the period of the "unguarded years," and teachers need to grasp this fact, and act accordingly. Juvenile offenders begin rarely to be such through instinct or choice, but through one of a hundred things boys have ever done; and if they were taken by the hand and treated humanely, they might be prevented from entering on a course of vice and crime. In Glasgow 697 boys from sixteen to twenty-one were convicted of crimes against property, and the younger were removed to Truant, Industrial, and Reformatory Schools, with such excellent results that it might be extended to the age of eighteen. Probation Courts in England and America have done much for the care and reclamation of youth, by separating them from hardened criminals, placing them under humane officials, and keeping off their brow the brand of the jailbird. In this way thousands of boys and girls are rescued from a life of crime.

Ninth—The passing of the Children's Protective and Preventive Bill is certain to lead to great benefits. It deals with evils which have been a heart-sore to many people for years. The clauses inserted against Juvenile Smoking will be gladly welcomed, as also the provisions for separating young offenders from old criminals, and for Juvenile Courts akin to the best legislation. Equally valuable will be those parts of the Bill which deal with Baby Farming and Infant Insurance. It also approves of penalties being imposed on the parent where the parent should be punished and not the child. It also expects local authorities to provide Reformatories, Industrial Schools, and places of detention.

Tenth—Further developments of legislation are necessary; facilities are needed for removing children from the care of vicious and drunken parents. State or municipal interference with parents is often objected to. One hears about the rights of parents, but what about the rights of the children? Any one familiar with proceedings in police and coroners' courts regards the plea for the liberty of the subject as a mere bogey. Cruel and drunken parents

forfeit their right as parents, and are unfit to have the control of their little ones. It is the duty of the State to rescue its boys and girls from suffering and neglect.

Eleventh—It is of supreme importance, in the training and the making of the citizen, that religion should have the first and foremost place. For it is religion, properly understood, that imparts something of the great and noble meanings of life. An International Congress of the Moral Education League met in London to discuss how such virtues as courage, truthfulness, cleanliness of mind, body, and speech, the love of fair play, gentleness to the weaker, temperance, self-denial, love of one's country, and respect for beauty in Nature and art, can be acquired. It stopped at teaching morals. There are no objections to the systematic teaching of morals, but it was asked by one speaker if teachers were equal to the work, and Professor Lombroso, of Turin, said that the idea of reforming the criminal by mere instruction was futile, and that if Napoleon, Boulanger, and Crispi had never been educated, it would have been better for France and Italy. The moral educators felt that the teaching of morality does not go far

in teaching virtue. It is a negative kind of goodness, and negative goodness is, after all, a barren tree, while the house upon the rock is the character of the man who heareth the sayings of the Son of Man and doeth them. The teaching of morals needs the sanctions of religion—the consciousness of a God who besets us behind and before, and the conviction of responsibility to Him. Rev. David Watson well puts it in his book on Social Questions: “If the child asks, ‘Why should I be honest, truthful, and unselfish?’ you may say, ‘Because it is right.’ But he will ask, ‘Why is it right?’ There is really no answer, except you can say, ‘It is the will of your Father in heaven.’ Without that high sanction we cannot even teach morals. The supreme question is the religious training of the child.” “Bring the children up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord.” For herein have we Heaven’s dynamic—the all-commanding motive, the all-sufficient Pattern, and the all-potent energy to a self-denying, pure, and beneficent life.

Twelfth—Let parental obligation, Church responsibility, and State aid be a threefold silken cord securing the child for God and

goodness, for best citizenship here and nobler citizenship in heaven. The fact is unquestioned that 80 per cent. are lost to our Churches, and are lost to them during the years of adolescence, when they begin the work of life and face its temptations. The Rev. Principal Paton, of Nottingham, deeply impressed with this fact, summons the Church and the nation to the special service of caring for our youth from fifteen to eighteen. He has merited the praise of all the Churches for his excellent endeavours to found and conduct social institutes run on club lines, with comradeship as their main-spring. Here is the plan by which he has been so successful in retaining our young people for the kingdom of heaven and good citizenship on earth: "In the Sunday Institute it is desired that the great moral and spiritual teachings of the Word of God shall be elucidated and applied in all that the boy is now really concerned about and interested in ; and that it should be seen how, under Christ's leadership, every noble and beautiful thing which he admires in human character and life can be achieved ; how all those tastes and interests which are natural to the boy may be developed so as to give him

a happy and noble manhood. In the Week Evening Institute there must be the sphere and atmosphere in which this new awakening life, budding and sprouting forth in various ways, can be enfolded and healthily developed."

Few of these solutions, except the last two, go to the root of the matter. The final and far-reaching cure is a thorough change of outward material conditions. So long as drunkenness, poverty, and bad housing are the determining factors, the problem of the child will be with us ; transfigure the vile and vicious surroundings, and " a little one shall become a thousand, and a small one a strong nation."

A trumpet-call comes to the Church to concentrate thought on the problem of the child, to counteract the temptations which so cruelly assail the young in our towns and cities, and multiply efforts to promote the moral wellbeing of the coming generation.

CHAPTER V

PART I

THE BOY

IN Shakespeare's "Seven Ages of Man" the second lustrum of life is set down to the period of boyhood, and the picture of the boy drawn by the "great master" is, however true it may be, far from being an attractive one. It is thus simply but firmly etched:

" . . . the whining schoolboy, with his satchel
And shining morning face, creeping like a snail
Unwillingly to school."

The picture is drawn with Shakespeare's usual keenness of observation and fidelity to fact; it has not one redeeming feature, not even that "shining face" due to a mother's dutiful but ill-requited morning ablution. No matter whether it be little Tommy, only five years old,

or big Jack, now turned fourteen, the yoke of schooldom is felt to be a yoke of thralldom. It is the picture of a boy on the road to school, who would fain be elsewhere than dumped on a hard seat for five or six days in the week, and pinned down to the harder tasks which the contents of his satchel will impose upon him. Such has more or less been the boy's attitude, and the girl's as well, to the experiences of school life from the days of Aristotle, I suppose, to the present hour. And yet from the time of the Stagyrte to our day there has been a growing consensus of opinion that it ought not to be so, and that school training and instruction could be made throughout essentially attractive. Confining the proof to later witnesses, let us adduce the testimony of John Locke, and others after him. The English philosopher pleads for a mild and deliberate treatment of the schoolboy, and remarks: "Great severity of punishment does but very little good, nay, great harm, in education; and I believe it will be found that *cæteris paribus*, those children who have been most chastised seldom make the best men."

Froebel, who was a follower of Pestalozzi, but superior to him in philosophical insight and

gräsp, also the well-known founder of the kindergarten system, has shown thereby that education can be made thoroughly enjoyable. This educational reformer set up an institute in Keilhau, in regard to which it was reported by an unprejudiced witness that the method of training was "so well adapted to the child and his needs that he learns as eagerly as he plays ; nay, I noticed how the pupils, whose lesson had been somewhat delayed by my arrival, came in tears to the principal of the institute and asked, ' Should they always play and never learn, and were only the big boys to be taught to-day? ' " Half a century ago Professor Pillans, of Edinburgh University, a distinguished educationist of his time, gave it as his verdict that "Where young people are taught as they ought to be, they are quite as happy in school as at play, seldom less delighted, nay, often more, with the well-directed exercise of their mental energies, than with that of their muscular powers." Professor Tyndall, in a lecture given at the Royal Institution "On the Importance of the Study of Physics as a Branch of Education," testifies how very attractive a study for youth he had found the instruction in a class

of mathematics to be. After a little aversion, soon came a change. "I have seen the boy's eye brighten, and at length, with a pleasure of which the ecstasy of Archimedes was but a simple expansion, heard him exclaim, 'I have it, sir!' . . . The boys had tasted the sweets of intellectual conquest and demanded victories of their own. I have seen their diagrams scratched on the walls, cut into the beams upon their playground, and numberless other illustrations of the living interest they took in the subject."

Now if these things are so, and Shakespeare's representations are still true, surely there must be some fundamental defect in the educational systems of the past, some grave fault in the principles and methods of training, or some serious misgauging of the young nature and its necessities. The fact of the matter is that, as the Great Teacher of old placed "a little child in their midst," we must do the same with the boy, and try to find out in what way a study of him points to us the true spirit and method of his education. The whole subject has too seldom been treated from the boy's point of view, and yet this is the one point of view that really matters.

Set the boy in the midst, study him, and ask yourselves what he is, what he needs, and what he is ready to do. Think of the immense exuberance, the spontaneity of his impulses, and the warmth of his emotions, his fondness of open-air life, his passionate love of sport and outdoor exercises, the daring and venturesome feats of boyhood, in the climbing of trees and mountains, his lively interest in birds and four-footed beasts.

The boy is very much alive and full of vivid and varied interests in everything pertaining to his environment, with a nature plastic and flexible to whatever seeks to allure and fashion it.

Think of his spontaneous self-activity and longing to try his strength in all forms of outdoor exercise, of his self-confident ignorance, yet unconquerable curiosity to inquire and know. Mark the eager volubility with which anything novel is described by him. What a halo of romance youthful imagination sheds about lanes and hedgerows, and how a sense of wonder comes with the magic gift of hope which makes the greater part of a golden prime. Try to plumb the soul of boyhood, and examine its deeper characteristics ; he has parted with childish

things in his desire to become a man ; the childlike still remains an essential part of the selfhood which is to form his true individuality, and give him originality and strength as a man.

The deeper and finer things of his nature are trustfulness, transparency, ingenuousness, reverence for truth and readiness to obey, openness of mind, openness of soul, an instinctive dislike of sham, and quick appreciation of reality. How shall all this vigour of life and buoyancy of impulse be subjected to the sway of discipline, reason, and restraint? Every activity of boyhood can be, and ought to be, deflected from a vicious into a virtuous direction, and this is the end of all true education ; it is a duty of the first importance to cultivate the spontaneous and native energy which marks the boyish enthusiasms and ardours of life. " Put your ear to the earth," says Lammenais, " and you will feel the throbbing of the world at the outset." The boy is thus close to Nature, throbbing with positive and instinctive force ; he begins at the alphabet of life, and not with a vocabulary of negatives :

" Do not do this, do not do that ;
And wipe your feet upon the mat."

Our educational systems fail to apprehend the elements of human development in the period of boyhood, to gauge its nature and requirements, and to appreciate the methods that comply with the laws of its innermost being. Failure to adopt such methods has condemned these systems to sterility, and turned the relations between teacher and taught into a series of pitched battles—the teacher regarding the pupil with suspicion and distrust instead of confidence and affection, and the pupil shutting up his natural ingenuousness and hardening into indolence and self-will.

(What shall we say regarding the system of elementary education, nationalised forty years ago? A chorus of complaint expresses dissatisfaction from all quarters with its results; they tell us that the children have gained very little useful knowledge and still less power of applying it.

A Committee of the British Association, consisting of educational experts, reported to its Annual Meeting at York in 1906: “It is generally acknowledged that much of what is learned in the elementary school is forgotten soon after the child has left school, and a great deal of

the heavy cost of his education is thus practically wasted. The studies commonly pursued, owing to some extent to faulty methods, fail to fix in the mind the knowledge hastily acquired, and fail also as instruments of sound mental discipline or as the means of forming permanently useful habits of thought."

This result of elementary education and its methods has gone to serve the mammon of materialism, by adopting, as a supreme criterion of good and evil, of right and wrong, the question, Will it pay? It has encouraged the nation to descend, little by little, by slow but perceptible degrees, from the heights to the depths, to lose some of the faculties of its soul, especially those which reach out to an invisible and ideal world. The moral training and atmosphere of our schools has not been favourable to the growth of character ; it has not stood strenuously for the life of the conscience.

If our methods of teaching are to be reversed, no less need is there to revise the meaning of the word "education." There are all sorts of education, not got from book or map, but obtained slowly in byways ; book-learning is

not the most important, nor yet the most useful. The present writer claims to be an example of such out-of-school knowledge as a boy may quickly gather. Until the age of fourteen he loitered about the foot of the class. Were the years between seven and fourteen wasted years? No. The joy of his boyhood was escape into the sunny air to guddle in the pools, catching minnow and loach, to lurk in the hedge-rows and listen to the song of the lark, to sit on green knolls and watch the sunset—these were his daily delights. The well-known lines of Wordsworth sum up that influence:

“Love had he found in huts where poor men lie;
His daily teachers had been woods and rills;
The silence that is in the starry sky;
The sleep that is among the lonely hills.”

“Everything of something, and something of everything,” in a happy phrase epitomises a liberal education. To read, think, and gather knowledge from every source is an excellent ideal for young men who have left school, and want to make their way in the world, but not for the schoolboy himself. Hunks of information, swallowed with a view to passes, soon

drop out of recollection, and, worse still, produce a kind of mental indigestion, which renders any habit of healthy reading hopeless in time to come. How baneful the effects are of forcing pupils to study so many subjects appears in the well-known fact that sometimes here, and oftener in Germany, they seek and find escape from the overstrain by making an end of themselves. The cure for this is to reduce the number of subjects, and only find room for the things that matter. Really things have come to a woeful pass when we are told by a Minister of Education that there is no room for the systematic teaching of morality ! It would be wiser to concentrate upon and to ground thoroughly in the three R's than so to addle the brains of the young. School curricula need to be rigidly curtailed ; they should be more elastic, and adaptable to the bent of the pupil ; intensive and specialised studies should only be added when the capacity to master them has been acquired.

It has been the custom to define education in terms of knowledge, till this view of the matter now usurps the whole field. Present education is nullified by a relentless rationality.

Intellect is one of our metropolitan powers, but only one, not even the greatest—for, do not great thoughts spring from the heart? Other elements and qualities count, and life itself, with all its subtle influences, that so often elude the sentinels at the threshold of reason. Intellect, heart, and will are co-essentials of human personality. A reaction against reason as the only faculty to be cultivated has set in, and insists that the child be trained, not so much to know as to be and grow and do. What constitutes an educated person is not that he knows what evidence is—when a thing is proved, and when it is not: there be high gifts of heart and will equally important, and claiming equally to be cultivated. The education which aims at producing mental development must be in harmony with the laws of knowing, feeling, and willing, and endeavour to secure their complete unfolding. To think clearly, to feel deeply, to will worthily, to evoke the heart forces by which a man works at his best, and train the firm will that controls and utilises them as well as awaken the intellectual powers, so do we indicate the true aims and ends of education. On such lines do we arrive at something

like an adequate revaluation and restatement of the subject. It is not so much to amass knowledge as to call forth the full orchestral harmony of thought and will and love. Not what, or how much, we can pour into our boys and girls, but what, or how much, can be drawn out, so that latent powers and capacities may be developed to the fullest and highest extent, should be our paramount aim.

Thus only can the rising generation be trained to the duties of citizenship and prepared for the business of life.

PART II

Having dealt with the purpose, let us now examine the methods, of education. There are laws, physiological and psychological, with which all educative work should be brought into close and vital relations. Modern physiology has discovered that the development of the individual follows a method and order like what the mind of humanity as a whole has gone through; that each human being repeats in embryonic changes the history of the race; and in the light of this discovery the young should

as far as possible be educated. Modern psychology shows how the power of moving freely by pure processes of the intellect, as in the higher mathematics, from an observed fact to a new discovery, demonstrates more than anything else man's faith that his forms of thought somehow keep time and tune with the processes of the universe. The study of the science of teaching, aided by the scientific method of thought, sheds light on many of the serious problems that have for centuries vexed the sphere of pedagogy.

Such guidance and stimulus for the growing mind may be indicated here.

First, all true education follows the lines of evolution, proceeding from the simple to the complex, from the concrete to the abstract. It was the great merit of Froebel that he was the first, some years before Darwin and Wallace, to apprehend in organic life the law of evolution and apply it to the work of education. As we survey organic nature, we see that on the whole it has been an ascending evolution, beginning with the lowest organisms, and advancing through higher and higher to the highest of all, man himself. He is the supreme

outcome and flower of the evolutionary process. It is summed up in his body and spirit. It has reached its climax in his physical frame. We do not dream that it will add wings to his body or increase the quantity of his brain ; yet it presses forward to some far goal, and moves faithfully in accordance with the rule to which it has already attained. The process is raised to a higher plane, to the mental and spiritual, teaching man how to leave behind for ever the original brutishness of the animal kingdoms that preceded his advent. Evolution does not signify reversion to animalism, but a supplanting of selfishness by altruism, of treachery by wisdom, of savagery by love ; not a driving of the car of humanity into the ditch, but a stately movement upwards, working out the beast. On this higher plane the struggle of existence is not to be arrested, but enhanced ; it is to be the greatest struggle of all—the struggle for the highest mode of existence. For the individual it is an arduous advance in intellectual and moral achievement, a hunger and thirst after righteousness, an intense longing for every immortal feature of loveliness and perfection ; for society the order is to be one of

mutual love and fellow-service, not of competition and selfishness, a care for others, and for the whole that will limit care for self, the reaching up to the highest ideals of citizenship, such as Plato's Republic, More's Utopia, and the vision of the modern bard—

“That man to man, the world o'er,
Shall brothers be for a' that.”

Now, the course of instruction should comply with the method of Nature, and proceed, little by little, from less to more, from what is easy to what is difficult. Such a mode of procedure is emphasised by Herbert Spencer in a chapter on “Intellectual Education”; he describes it as an advance “from the simple to the complex, the indefinite to the definite, the concrete to the abstract, the particular to the general, the empirical to the rational.” And he shows how many existing methods invert this normal order.

But this mental evolution is capable of other applications.

Three of the mental powers—observation, memory, and imagination—are the first to be elicited in education, and under wise management that is not pushed too fast or too far,

but evoked gradually, they come to maturity ; while they go on unfolding the finer qualities of judgment and reflection, causality and abstraction. The peculiar blessing of childhood and youth is to be endowed with a ready receptiveness in the exercise of these powers. It has been a defect in past educational methods to overlook the value of the powers of observation in the training of the young ; and we may say that half the errors in the world arise from men failing to see what is before their eyes and tell what it means. To train the observant faculty to keenness and precision is to begin a habit of attention that will profit the pupil in other acquirements and make him an effective agent in the work of life. Hence the value of object-lessons, open-air instruction, as in kindergarten, and Nature-study.

If the powers of observation have suffered neglect, memory has been overworked and treated as if it were the chief or only instrument of the mind. It is, indeed, a marvellous power, soft as wax to receive and hard as marble to retain the early impressions. It is elicited and expanded, not by cramming it with the wood, hay, and stubble of ill-digested in-

formation, but thoroughly furnished with the gold and silver and precious stones of well-organised instruction.

To secure an all-sided development imagination must be ranked among mental powers, and provided for, though Herbert Spencer knows it not. It is a normal part of human nature, and can readily be turned to the noblest use ; it is the idealising and creative faculty, the power to see visions and dream dreams. The soul of the poet is latent within every one of us. If imagination is to be unhaunted by ghosts and illusions, it needs to be disciplined and controlled ; if it is to be occupied with bright hopes, it needs to be informed and inspired. And provision for it is at hand in a rich imaginative literature. For the first period of youth the wonderland of fairy-tales and story draws the child into an ideal world of truth and beauty and goodness, to sympathise with it, and recoil from its opposite ; for the middle period books of adventure and romance, like " Robinson Crusoe " and the " Waverley Novels " ; for the later period, the higher creations of human genius, such as Shakespeare's tragedies and Milton's epics ; while for every

period the Bible and Bunyan's allegories should continue to unfold things new and wonderful, mysterious and inexplicable, grand and beautiful. The public school should thus help the children to their own. In respect of moral education, it must also comply with the law of evolution and pass slowly, gradually upward from the rudimentary and simple to the mature and complete. Conscience, for example, is an inward monitor that speaks with a still small voice, hardly knowing what its own accents mean, but when faithfully revered and obeyed it becomes the categorical imperative that rules the kingdom within. It develops late. The children must be allowed to grow instead of leap into moral education, and to have such teaching as will meet their needs when the needs arise, but not before.

From protoplasm to the complete organism, from germ-cell to Plato, Shakespeare, and Lord Kelvin—how is this miracle of life and evolution and sovereign worth wrought? Simply by exercise of function, use of faculty. Whatever is exercised in full harmony with its nature and according to its strength grows and increases, and whatever is unexercised dwindles and at

length disappears. This law holds throughout the whole organic nature—the senses, limbs, the mental and moral powers. The graceful evolutions of a sea-bird on the wing and the deft circling of Giotto's "O" present one side of the development; the decay of the organ of vision in the fishes of a celebrated cave, the loss of moral perception in evil men, who having eyes see not, present the obverse side. Man grows by the well-directed use of every natural function, but pines and withers when he becomes merely a crank in a piece of State machinery. And this has proved to be the case mentally and morally under our present system of elementary education, more particularly in its neglect of attention to the training of the conscience. As we listen and obey it, then it speaks clearer and clearer and always guides us right, but if we turn a deaf ear or disobey, then it will fade out little by little and leave us in the dark. All are agreed that the purpose of the school is chiefly ethical, and therefore if moral advancement does not stand before material utility, all that is highest in humanity will be stunted and atrophied.

There can be no growth of flower and fruit

without a culture of much toil and sacrifice. The best moral and social forces, if lost, can only be recovered by keeping to the forefront a genuine national recognition of morality and religion in the seminaries of the land. Our need of needs is a generation taught to reverence their conscience as their king ; the thing that matters is for us to be a God-fearing and right-doing people.

A third law or function is of great importance in education, named by Froebel, Self-activity ; by Herbert Spencer, Self-instruction ; and by Professor Tyndall, Self-power ; the last giving an illustration from his class in mathematics. "The consciousness of self-power, thus awakened, was of immense value, and animated by it the progress of the class was truly astonishing." Tyndall's experience helps us to see how great a part is played by the pupil in the development of his own natural powers. It is equal to, and indeed greater than, any aid which he receives from all his masters put together. Selfhood, in its free, spontaneous energy, ought to have unfettered scope. Selfhood does not imply selfishness. It is not a question of motive, but a question of method.

Adjustment of the two factors is indispensable to the freest and fullest training. Between teacher and taught should exist a close, proper, and friendly co-operation, in order to secure a harmoniously built all-sided development. The teacher will do wisely to keep in mind the pupils' leading part in the process, simply keeping pace with it, not hurrying too much or lagging behind, and contented to observe how a duly exercised guidance and control draws out the selfhood of earlier years into self-realisation, self-reliance, and self-expression, and a selfhood thus well begun into the still finer phases of self-discipline, self-denial, and self-conquest.

It is a teacher's part to consider his pupils' individuality. Nature, who does not make two blades of grass grow alike, never intended millions of little ones to be turned out like coins from a mint. A fine, free, and varied type of manhood and womanhood is needed for the evolution, education, and elevation of the race.

But how can a teacher, with a class numbering fifty or sixty, understand each and give right guidance? To promote free self-development along the lines of natural capacity and taste a movement exists in favour of reducing

the number of pupils allotted to each teacher, and a useful body of statistics has been collected by the Educational Institute of Scotland with this end in view.

Shakespeare's seven ages of man refer to physical evolution and decline, but long before that decline comes, or the "second childishness" appears, evolution on the higher plane may be advancing to the utmost verge of life. All this depends, however, on the manner in which the earlier stages have been unfolded. There is a given order in which, and a given rate at which, the faculties unfold, and if the course of education conforms thereto, it will succeed. Education needs to adapt itself to successive stages, to be symmetrically graded in a series of unbroken transitions. Each period of life is meant to yield its allotted good, which, like the rings of growth in a tree, pass into the make-up of the constitution. Froebel calls this "inner connectedness," and thus expresses it: "The child, the boy, man, indeed, should know no other endeavour but to be at every stage of development wholly what this stage calls for. Then will each successive stage spring like a new shoot from a healthy

bud ; and at each successive stage he will with the same endeavour again accomplish the requirements of this stage." No kind of instruction should violate this gradual upbuilding of coherent character. Difficulties for the undoing of which it may take years are often caused by a boy's eagerness to turn his back on childhood, or by a parent's haste to skip a stage, and see his boy play the man. What so fair as, on the rounding of the circle of life, to find that the first and last stages meet and coincide. It is Coleridge who defines genius to be that which carries the powers lodged in childhood into the period of maturity. Nothing charms us like the innocence and candour, the unsophisticated simplicity and wonder of childhood, reappearing in those whose heads are whitened with the snows of age. There is no better evangel than that telling us we must be born again, and become as little children.

A last excellence in the science and art of teaching is to make it intrinsically attractive. With no wish to obliterate the distinction between work and play, or to deny that an abnormal liking for games destroys any desire to realise the more serious issues of life, surely

the argument now led and the evidence adduced point us to the inference that processes of education may be turned into a pleasant as well as profitable exercise. Herbert Spencer insists very strongly on the affirmation that mental action may be throughout essentially pleasurable. "Clearly," he says, "the efficiency of tuition will, other things equal, be proportionate to the gratification with which tasks are performed." What we learn with pleasure we never forget ; on the other hand, let a pupil be treated to angry threats and harsh methods, and he will be disgusted with his lessons, and the possibility of profiting by instruction will disappear. Every subject can be presented in such a way as to be received with enthusiasm by an intelligent child whose mind is not already clogged or warped. All depends on the right approach to the young mind. Conformity to the laws just enunciated points the way. If the developing method moves slowly upward from the simple to the complex ; if the faculties of knowing, feeling, and willing are not left to rust, but made to shine in use ; if the joyousness of self-activity felt by the taught is allowed by the teacher, who knows when to leave them

alone and to show how much they can do for themselves ; if the several stages of life are lived out to the full and added to the permanent furniture of the mind—then our national schools will become like Froebel's at Keilhau, of which Superintendent Teh said that the children were as ready to learn as to play, and our scholars would find their studies as attractive as did Professor Tyndall's in his geometry class, and would seek to continue through life that self-instruction they began in youth. After this manner a new generation might be dowered with a rich inheritance of good and freed from a sad entail of evil.

Much is written and said about physical culture in day schools. Formerly it was neglected or decried ; now a lively interest in it is astir, and a craze for it has become a fashion of the hour. A principal of one of our universities was asked to fill up a form regarding some students whom he had to recommend, and the questions to be put were not—"Is he a good linguist or mathematician?" but "Does he swim? Does he ride? Does he shoot?" just as if such accomplishments exhausted the entire department of physical

exercises. Of one student's success he was not sanguine, because a "No" was subjoined to each question. And a professor of the same university, addressing a health culture society, affirmed that personally he would rather see athletics overdone than underdone *at the expense of lessons*. This attempt to create, not soul but sinew, to produce, not mind but muscle, is anything but ideal. One need not exaggerate in order to estimate fully the worth of an active, vigorous physique as the groundwork of all other efficiency in life. Eighty years ago Froebel showed insight as well as foresight when he said that play holds the sources of all that is good. "A child that plays thoroughly, with self-active determination, persevering until physical fatigue forbids, will surely be a thorough, determined man, capable of self-sacrifice for the promotion of the welfare of himself and others."

Every system of education deserving the name should aim at the concurrent development of an active intelligence, a sound character, and a vigorous physique. The very essence of athletics lies in cultivating habits of promptitude, decision, and definiteness, so as to meet the various

contingencies of life. German schools practise a course of formal gymnastics, which strives to secure a co-ordinated development of the muscles, heart, and lungs as the basis of efficiency ; among us that purpose is served by the use of games. Perhaps a combination of these two practices is the best kind of physical training. Boards of Education have this matter in hand, and the English Board has prepared a syllabus of games according to the Swedish system, assigning as a reason that crowded and confined spaces, and other conditions, restrict opportunities for physical training, and make it necessary to adopt well-considered methods for the purpose of promoting the health and development of the body. Another difficulty hinders. In country districts there is plenty of open ground, but in large towns the schools often have no playground. As it is realised that the development of physique is a matter of national importance, some day houses will have to be pulled down and ground cleared to furnish open spaces for the children. Physical training has an ethical value, for it creates a spirit of self-reliance, and disciplines the temper, while it tempers the muscles.

In regard to moral education, two things need to be noted—the decline of reverence and obedience in home life, and a weakening of moral fibre in the nation—and the cause of these things is not far to seek: the collapse of the old Puritanism, with its austere discipline, and the tardiness of the new Puritanism, or any brighter, but equally high, discipline, to show itself among us. How far the public school is answerable for the shortcomings now mentioned it would be hard to say. The failure of home training cannot be charged to the teacher, but to the parent, on whom the first and gravest measure of obligation must be laid. Parental carelessness almost renders school discipline futile. As for a relaxation of moral fibre in the nation, the school has very distinctly and plainly a great deal to answer for. It is confessedly a difficult task to elevate the race, to lift the youth of a generation up a single tiny step from the animal to the moral plane. Educators in council recognise the urgent need of moral instruction, and express an urgent desire that the school should help to make a man after Milton's ideal, one fitted to play his part justly, skilfully, and magnanimously in all offices of private and public life.

Some insist on moral training as preferable to moral instruction, others that both are needful. One class seeks direct moral teaching as a conscious aim, the tacking on of a moral to every lesson; another class lays the stress on indirect moral education, in which the aim is to be concealed from the scholars. These forms are not mutually exclusive, but such education depends on the driving force behind it—the living personality and character of the teacher. He must be himself a true example of moral training. Philosophers and poets have long debated whether the world of intellect or of emotion or of will is man's chief distinction. There is a higher still in which he ought to live, the realm of a faculty too much forgotten or neglected—even that sceptred sovereign, Conscience, of which Bishop Butler says: "Had it strength, as it had right, had it power, as it had authority, it would absolutely govern the world." If the teacher would find the school discipline a powerful instrument of morality in his hand, he must establish and maintain in the mind of youth the everlasting distinctions between right and wrong, between purity and uncleanness, between virtue and vice.

The banishment of this subject from our national system of education would not only contravene our ideas of the national recognition of religion, but would also be equivalent to committing the realm to the dogmatic affirmation of agnosticism, of atheism. To any one who realises how the religious instinct is the strongest in man, such ostracism of religion as an element of instruction will seem almost unintelligible. And still more so when it is remembered that no people emptied of religion was ever genuinely great in anything. It was the spirit of true religion that laid the foundation of Scotland's greatness, and has made its history a record of brave struggles for political freedom.

The religious faculty is a gateway of knowledge as truly as the gateways of the five senses—a spiritual sense, that apprehends God and appreciates eternal values. It is an essential part of our nature, capable of being cultivated to highest degrees, but requiring use and exercise, or it will perish. France tried once to do without religion, and her experience has been a warning to mankind ever afterwards. Since the breach with the Church again it has tried moral instruction on a non-religious base, only

to be accompanied by an alarming spread of juvenile criminality in the country. If there is one thing to which history gives an emphatic witness, it is to the fact that man is a worshipping creature, who will think of the Power on which all things rest and of his relation to that Power. Two views of it only are possible—it is the blind operation of a mindless Fate, according to which the heart of man is left to dwell on the riddles of life and love and hope, as Thomas Hardy does in his last book, “*Time’s Laughing Stocks*,” with the irony of a man who has no solutions; or the Power behind is a Person with a knowledge and will that we can reverence and trust. The heart of religion consists in the belief that there is such a Power, and all its achievement in the world comes out of this faith.

It is the task of the Church and school to lodge this vital conviction in the nation’s heart and conscience, for it is the inspiration by which alone moral training and instruction can work for righteousness. Unless the teacher has a message to the heart and soul, he cannot touch the foundations of character, or the roots of what is best in individual and national life. The

heart of education lies in its spiritual message, without which its life-kindling power is gone.

In a national system there ought to be no sectarian creed ; it should avoid technical language and be taught with the greatest possible simplicity. Tolstoi, who is in favour of religious teaching, and declares that children can easily understand it, says : " About the worship of God in others, I would tell the children as follows : ' Always remember that in every man dwells the same God that lives in you, and therefore when you meet a man, whoever he may be, do not forget that nothing in the world is higher or more important than that which lives in that man ; and therefore he must be worshipped as God and loved as you love yourself, and you should do to him what you would yourself like done to you if you were in his place.' "

To this of Tolstoi a positive element of Christian teaching should be added, and it may be summed up in three sentences : " God is love." " The Son of God loved me and gave Himself for me." " A new commandment give I unto you : that ye love one another as I have loved you."

The love of God is so vast and far-reaching that there is no place where it is not ; it enfolds, not only our little world but all the shining, rolling worlds beyond. The love of Christ shone forth in a long series of sacrifices till the Cross completed the series, and beyond that Cross sacrifice itself could no farther go. "Wherefore God also hath highly exalted Him, and given Him a name which is above every name."

As age rounds back on the beginning, and completes the circle of life in childlike simplicity, so the gifts and qualities of youth should be carried forward into a strong and strenuous manhood. The peculiar gifts and powers of boyhood should not die, but have a resurrection in future years. We speak of those who, though the snows of age whiten their heads, still carry the summer fires unquenched, as the finest specimens of what manhood ought to be. Youth should never leave us, but be transformed into a gracious, spiritual repossession of youth's joys. George Meredith loved the presence of the young. A boy leading a pet goat up and down aroused his envy and delight, and made him again in spirit a boy. If methods of education conform to the laws

already deduced, and especially to that in which the best characteristics of each successive stage are preserved, then the secret of perpetual youth is possessed. Education needs to instil into the minds of youth the idea of a great progressive movement in the world's history, and to recognise an inexhaustible spring of strength that flows from the Conscious Power behind all life, and whom religion bids us reverence and trust. It is a source of strength in which we are instruments rather than initiators of forceful energy. This is a conviction and experience that brings a real revival of power. It is evident, then, that religion is no narrow thing that is going to dwarf our powers, cut off our joy, and make our life hampered; but it is the biggest thing and the greatest thing and the widest thing of a man's life, ennobling every faculty, glorifying every power, and leading him out into a larger place, into the place of God's purpose, till he feels that he stands in the very will of God, is called upon to "serve his generation by the will of God, and fall on sleep." (

CHAPTER VI

THE LAD

SIR JOHN GORST, while travelling recently in Germany, tells us that he was terrified, not of her *Dreadnoughts*, but of her Technical Schools, and did not think we could hold our own against this commercial rival "unless we reform our Education System root and branch." In confirmation of this incident, a writer in a current review, dealing with the present system, says that it permits a few boys to leave school hardly able to read and write, many without having had their powers of thought developed in the least, and without any kind of technical knowledge of the simplest description which could be of use to them in any trade. It fails to produce that pride in good work and that accuracy in craftsmanship which are necessary to successful industrial competition. For example, there are rock sections, cut, ground, and mounted, which can

be got better, and much cheaper in Germany than here, and there is a superior class of Sheffield-ground razors which have now to be sent to Germany to be finished, because the technical skill demanded for such high-class work is not imparted by our educational arrangements.

These statements are put forward, not Cassandra-like, for an occasion to groan over the Decline and Fall of the British Empire. The raw material which we import from the ends of the earth we export again in manufactured articles, which hold an easy first in all the great world-markets, and add enormously to the national income. Nor have we sympathy with the scaremongers, who would train every boy and man in definite ideals of patriotism, and in the efficient aptitude for national defence. Germany is our best customer among the nations of the Continent. If our commodities find access into Germany, why should not its commodities be imported into this country? The comity and wealth of nations are enhanced by an ample exchange of their natural productions and manufactured goods.

The lesson found by Sir John Gorst in the

Fatherland is one which Great Britain needs to lay to heart—not the lesson of conscription, but of a thorough-going industrial and commercial education of the people, the application of knowledge to all phases of production. Such is the provision made by German education for those who have passed into the years of adolescence, giving rise to the motto, “The future will belong to the best educated nation.”

There is still a final stage in the development of human values; education does not end with leaving school. The boy grows into the lad, and for this last stage a different educational equipment is necessary to play a high *rôle* in the affairs of citizenship, the responsibilities of family life, and the service of the State. In the boy mental development is the special aim, in the lad it is development of the hand. The three R's represent elementary education, but in the case of the lad the parts of a true education are better included under the three H's—Head, Heart, and Hand. The points of transition from the boy to the lad need to be guarded; if they are neglected, they will be attended with grave results. Educational reformers, from Xenophon to Froebel, have emphasised the

natural union of head and hand as the first principle of education. The new conception of the school represents it as a place where the child and boy are free to develop, and represents the teacher as one who interferes as little as possible, but carries forward the Froebellan ideas of connectedness and self-activity, so keeping in harmonious touch with the growth and knowledge of the pupil. Such education, now slowly but surely winning its way into school, will give a sense of preparedness for the practical issues of life. And if there be added "training in the great mental Trinity of the Good, the True, and the Beautiful," this will make souls of good quality, and enable them to put that quality into work of the hand.

The coming of the lad begins at fourteen, which closes boyhood, and he goes on till twenty or twenty-one years of age. This period is known as the age of adolescence, and is, perhaps, more than any preceding period, a critical and formative stage of development. New life processes, bodily changes, advance and grow into consciousness, bringing new impulses and powers, and a new life that requires to be understood, and disciplined, and mastered. Professor

Stanley Hall, in a work on Adolescence, thus writes : " Powers and faculties, essentially non-existent before, are now born, and of the older instincts and impulses some are reinforced and greatly developed, while others become subordinate, so that new relations are established, and the ego finds a new centre." Each of these elements is a necessary factor in the unfolding of adult life, and they may be easily misunderstood or misdirected. A characteristic feature of this final stage in the process of preparation for complete living is, entrance upon one or other of the numerous employments pursued in this great commercial and industrial nation. To learn a trade, to choose a profession, to make a position for oneself in life, is the duty of the adolescent in every social grade. We are a nation of workers, in shop or factory, in shipyard or on the sea, in mine or in the field. Thousands, unfortunately, are doomed to worse conditions of labour, while the " three black graces," Law, Physic, and Divinity, open up avenues to young men of talent and ability. There is no lack of openings for all. The world is always wanting men of skill and integrity to fill its places of service. It always

has been, and always will be, more difficult to find talents for the places than places for the talents.

It is to be regretted that means hardly exist for finding out the aptitude of lads either in the house or at school with regard to special kinds of work. Emerson says that "the crowning fortune of a man is to be born with a bias to some pursuit," but the fortune is marred by parents thrusting their sons into vocations for which they are unfitted. The triangular person is put into a square hole, and the square person tries to squeeze himself into the round hole, and the result is failure. It is of the greatest importance that young people, if they are to get on in the world, should study their aptitudes and find out their natural bent, and turn it in the direction that will ensure success. It is also of great moment to have a right estimate of the nature of work. God intends every man to work, and to be happy in his work. Some, however, represent the yoke and toil of service as irksome and disagreeable, as unrelieved gloom, as drudgery.

On the contrary, our lads should accept Carlyle's estimate in his saying that the proper

ethic of this world is not now "Arms and the Man," but "Tools and the Man." He adds : "The latest Gospel in this world is, know thy work, and do it ; know what thou canst work at, and work at it like a Hercules."

Although it is important for the lad to go into business, perform it with his might, and win some one of its many coveted prizes, there belong to this last unfolding period of life certain innate powers or properties which, if rightly cultivated, yield far richer possessions and finer joys than worldly fame or fortune. The age of adolescence is the *period of idealism, of poetry, and hero-worship*. It is the gift of young men to see visions and dream dreams. Joseph was a lad of seventeen when he dreamed his audacious day-dreams of a high destiny, and in the end they came to fulfilment. The young man in the Gospels more than likely had the vision of a new and nobler life, but went away, made sorrowful by the vision which showed him more than he was willing to obey. There is not a man who has not had his days of vision. It is a power not to be gainsaid, but to be guided. It is one of the signals of manhood calling the lad to put away childish

things, and play a man's part in life. The ideal in man is that *vis vivida* of the mind, that elevation of the heart, which longs to foot the summits of the sun hills. It is a vision of goodness, truth, and beauty which moves the young poetic spirit to breathe out its thoughts and feelings in rhythmic numbers ; it is the love of the heroic which finds in choice spirits of the race embodiments of all that we dream of as good and great. He who obeys the vision enters into life, and takes the path which will be "as the light of dawn, that shineth more and more unto the perfect day" ; while he who refuses it refuses life, and turns his feet into that path which darkens more and more unto utter night.

Every lad in our homes should mark the pre-eminence of this gift in the adolescent years, and cherish it as full of hope, though rife with danger. To neglect or crush it belittles the soul, and leaves it "cribb'd, cabin'd, and confin'd" in a dungeon of hopelessness ; but let it be nurtured by true ideals, and it enlarges the soul's outlook, transfigures commonplace, and kindles aspiration and endeavour toward all good "in widest commonalty spread." The age

of adolescence *is the period of temptation*. It is that stage of development when a lad stands on the threshold of manhood, and finds himself beset with a variety of voices and inducements, some drawing one way, some drawing the other. It is that season of life in which the stripling gets a vision that life is a real battle between good and evil, and that he is called to take up arms on one side or the other. The untried youth wakes up to realise that this battle is no sham fight, and must be waged through the whole course of life.

“No, when the fight begins within himself,
A man’s worth something. God stoops o’er his head,
Satan looks up between his feet—both tug—
He’s left, himself, i’ the middle; the soul wakes
And grows. Prolong that battle through his life;
Never leave growing till the life to come!

An old wise book gives the picture of a lad at the opening of his life pleaded with by two claimants, and Temptation is represented by one of these as a loud-voiced, clamorous, painted siren, that allures him down beneath the sunny surface of pleasure to black depths below, where lie dead men’s bones. Now it is the manliness

of manhood calmly and firmly to meet and resist her charms.

It is the peculiar danger of this period that youth drifts into evil passions and wrong habits, instead of choosing a definite line of action. If the adolescent years be spent in a careless yielding to temptation, they rob the young man of the power to resolve that his life shall ever be worthy and excellent.

We notice briefly a temptation of this period often forbidden to be mentioned. At the age of puberty the facts of sex emerge, but if a right feeling and healthy attitude of mind towards them be not instilled, then "Satan may spend a fire God gave for other ends." A tradition of silence and mystery surrounds the whole subject, keeping the youth of both sexes ignorant and leaving them a prey to morbid curiosity and unchaste desire. But ignorance is impossible. Some chance word of unclean talk or reading arrests attention. For want of plain explanation and frank warning heaps on heaps of lads become moral and physical wrecks. Instruction on this subject is imperative, in order to solve the perennial problem of adolescence—the transmutation of lust into love. A ten

minutes' talk by a father or teacher would serve as a timely warning, and teach the wisdom of the counsel :

"Self-reverence, self-knowledge, self-control,
These three alone lead life to sovereign power."

The stage of adolescence *is the period of comradeship*; "Hail, fellow, well met," may be written all over it. Self-regarding instincts are not conspicuous except in odd cases, where temptation to the sin of pride may generate a certain aloofness, or where temptation to the sin of avarice may generate the narrowing lust of gold. It is a time of quick-stirring sympathies and ardent attachments and leal-hearted friendships. The social factor now awakes within him, breaks down the limit that shuts him up from all other beings, and the life of society into which he is launched becomes a part of him, whether he will or no. The lad is a generous-hearted fellow, loyal to his friendships, quick to feel for and prompt to aid any of his fellow-creatures in distress. Generosity of nature, an easy tolerance, and broad outlook make and mark the adolescent years. They introduce him into a rough school, where he still

needs much rough-hewing and moulding. It affords ample character-building material for the development of will and courage, and for the cultivation of his generous sympathies. In an age and country where "each for himself and devil take the hindmost" is the practical creed, he is called upon to reject such open selfishness and to cherish the higher sentiments of love, friendship, patriotism, and Christ's fair ideal of the kingdom and righteousness of God—a kingdom of brothers animated by a mutual consideration, and dwelling together in peace and co-operation. All this is quite compatible with the display of a sturdy individualism, which should always be a characteristic of adolescent life.

What, then, is the lad's equipment for earning a livelihood and profiting by the privileges of citizenship? Of what use is he in the hives of industry and in the cities of men? Does he carry over the boy's zest and enthusiasm, buoyancy and sprightliness, into the work of opening manhood? We quote the high authority of Principal Sir Donald M'Alister for the assertion: "At twenty-one he is still too often merely a belated and superannuated boy, capable only

of unskilled work when he can get it, and drifting speedily into the ranks of the unemployed when he can not." The majority of boys and girls leave school at the age of thirteen or fourteen, and go to work, and 70 or 80 per cent. of them enter at once on unskilled occupations. A boy leaves school as soon as the law allows him to enter into the ranks of daily labour. He looks for a job, and his parents encourage him to do so, making wages the first consideration. Young people find it extremely easy to get employment of one sort or another into which no disciplinary, improving element enters, find themselves without any such training, and often with the marks of a shiftless existence indelibly imprinted on their character. They do not begin by learning a trade, but go as van-boys, message lads, or caddies, or into warehouses and factories, where they learn nothing, perhaps, but one mechanical operation.

It is not so much the question of a skilled trade not being taught as of a work which is deteriorating, absorbing years of adolescent life when education is still needed. At the age of eighteen they are turned adrift to make way for younger boys from the primary schools, who

are ready to take their place. Here is the tap root of the acutest problem of our time, of unemployment. "Perhaps the gravest of all the grave facts which this Commission has laid bare," says the Poor Law Minority Report, "is the perpetual recruitment of the unemployable by tens of thousands of boys who, through neglect to provide them with suitable industrial training, may almost be said to graduate into unemployment as a matter of course."

But the situation is graver still, for in certain industries the conditions of boys' labour are detrimental to their moral welfare. The various kinds of street trading may be mentioned as instances. According to the Chief Constable of Manchester street trading of all juvenile wage-earning occupations is productive of a greater amount of evil than any other occupation followed by children. The Chief Constable of Sheffield says that street selling makes the boys thieves. Another witness affirms that street sellers are practically all gamblers, and it is stated that "of 1,454 youths between fourteen and twenty-one charged in Glasgow during 1906 with theft and other offences, inferring dishonesty, 1,208, or 83.7 per cent., came from the

class of messengers, street traders, and so on." Not only is street trading one of the "blind-alley" employments, leading nowhere, but it spoils the boys for the discipline of a regular trade, and strengthens habits of reckless independence and vicious maturity, which becomes a second nature.

To the consideration of this period that venerable reformer and philanthropist Dr. Paton, of Nottingham, has devoted the study and labour of a lifetime. He has envisaged its distinctive features, seen its great opportunities, and feared its great temptations. It would be difficult to give an account of Dr. Paton's many schemes and efforts in this direction, but proof will be given as we now proceed to consider remedies. In regard to the 70 or 80 per cent. of those who pass out of school to enter upon unskilled occupations, there is a common agreement that the school-leaving age should be raised to fourteen or fifteen; and there is a growing conviction that without prejudice to other forms of instruction the last two years of school life should be less intellectual and more practical, less academical and more technical—that it should combine the

education of the head with the education of the hand.

After nearly forty years of popular elementary education no arrest in the industrial sphere is put on those processes which make the casual. The blame is not to be laid on the national system of education, but on the defective machinery which treats the child of twelve or thirteen as a finished product, equipped for his struggle with the world, yet leaving him at the door of the school unprovided for the career which lies before him. It is necessary to deal with boys and girls a year or two before leaving school as well as for some years after. Many of them leave at twelve or thirteen years of age, and are tempted by a strong sense of family duty to seek employment that yields immediate results, or they refuse to go into regular training and drift into the streets. Out of 1,000 juvenile traders only 233 wore the badge of being licensed—token of how the spirit of the wild dominates them, and of the latter number only 87 had reached the age of fourteen. In a vast majority of the 70 or 80 per cent. of boys already referred to, it is the same as with the unfortunate juveniles driven to the streets to

make a livelihood. It is generally recognised that nothing can possibly be said for allowing boys to enter earlier than the age of fourteen into occupations that are unskilled and that give no opportunity for acquiring skill. The only argument used against such exclusion is connected with the necessities of the parents, but to make the necessities of the parents a ground for putting the children thus early to work is a superficial excuse for the ruin of the children. The first necessity for a child is that of education, and all should give way to secure such an object. A sound education is a good investment, and ultimately a decided gain to both parents and children, and therefore the parents should not be loth to make some sacrifice for the future happiness and wellbeing of the children.

After raising the school age to fourteen, as in Germany, there should be a specialisation of study for the last two years of school life; first and chiefly, a course of technical instruction to which the afternoon should be devoted, and for the forenoon courses of English or Scottish history and literature, and expositions of the rudiments of economic science. It is of great importance to bring the young into con-

tact with the real things of life, and the only way to do that is to set them to work with their own hands and eyes, and train them to handle the tools by which they can work substances into useful forms. For boys provision should be made for clay modelling and woodwork, thus requiring workshops to be attached to schools ; and girls should be instructed in cookery and laundrywork, household management, and needlework.

In regard to literature, Dr. Paton offers an admirable suggestion when he recommends that direct and constant training should be carried on during the last two years of school life, in the happy and educative use of the gift of reading. " This is what is desired, and will be done, by changing the ordinary reading class into a reading circle ; for the reading circle is formed for this very purpose, that it may exercise a continuous directing and inspiring influence on the reading of the elder children." Continuation classes are meant to develop technical power, and to have a moralising influence on lads at an age when they need it most. Apprenticeship is such a discipline, as casual labour is the opposite ; but apprenticeship

is dying out, and no longer adapted to modern industrial requirements. Changes in trade have made it obsolete for multitudes, but an educational substitute for the old apprenticeship must be found in these Continuation Classes organised by School Boards, where youths will be taught, not trades so much as technical qualities, craftsmanship, adaptability, self-reliance, and resourcefulness, to stand them in good stead when they enter the more mechanical surroundings of the workshop.

The question of compulsion is a serious one. Before it can be exercised much will have to be done to frame suitable courses, to find room for numerous classes, and to train thoroughly competent teachers. Yet no doubt thousands of young people would be better equipped for life by such a measure of industrial conscription. Provision should be made for the great majority of youths who require only a well-rounded course of modest dimensions and made attractive by its patent utility. We are dealing with the democracy of labour, who need such a provision to fit them for adult proficiency ; but there is also an aristocracy of labour, comprehending those who aim at more ambitious

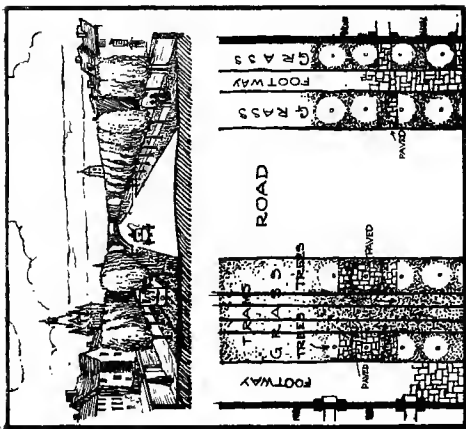
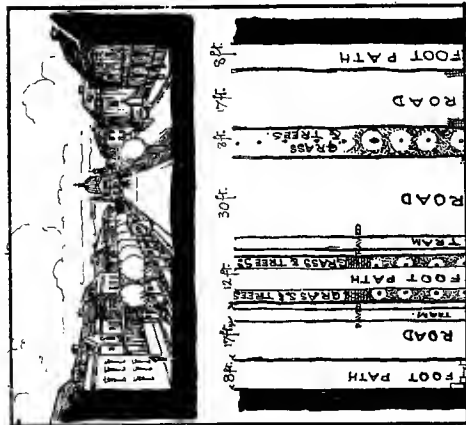
studies and for whom are provided such central institutions as the Technical College, the School of Art, the Commercial College, and other places of specialised instruction. There ought to be provided a system of scholarships for those who, having peculiar aptitudes, seek to rise from the democracy to the aristocracy of labour. All grades of workers should through such education learn to take a more intelligent, and therefore a more pleasurable, interest in their work. To be finely and thoroughly technical it should be an educating and elevating pursuit. It should be what Weinold in his "History of Labour" describes as the last stadium of progress. "In primitive ages labour was a Necessity, in ancient times a Burden, in the mediæval period a Privilege, in recent times a Right, in the future it will be a Duty ; the ideal is that it shall be a Delight." A cure for unemployment is to be found in a suitable provision of continuation classes for young people from the age of fourteen to seventeen years. The first seventeen years of life should really be devoted to preparation for a subsequent career. Boys and girls at fourteen have not knowledge and training to go out into the world. It would

greatly benefit the rising generation if juvenile labour could be reduced to a minimum, as a Child Labour Bill now before the Massachusetts Legislature proposes to do by closing the factories of that State to all children under sixteen. The development of full-time day trade schools, admitting children to skilled industrial training, is a worthy ideal ; but meanwhile the adoption of a system of attendance at Continuation Schools is a practicable aim. This system prevails in twenty-one out of the twenty-six States of the German Empire, and these *Gewerbe*, or Continuation Schools, furnished an object-lesson to Dr. Paton, of Nottingham, of the value they have for lads through the critical years of adolescence.

Another agency for reducing unemployment is the creation of a real, living nexus between the elementary school and the world of industry, to be found in the scheme of Juvenile Labour Bureaux. Technical training draws out the creative and productive faculties, gives to the pupil skill, aptitude, and accuracy, and enables the teacher to find out the pupil's special bent towards a trade. And if besides a taste for good literature and a high ideal be cultivated,

then a golden bridge should be provided to afford a surer, broader, and freer road for the children of this country to pass from the schools into skilled occupations. The Apprenticeship and Skilled Employment Association of London looks after children on leaving school, and has last year placed about a thousand children in skilled trades. Bradford and Sheffield, Inverness, Stirling, and Edinburgh School Boards have bureaux now in working order, which have all been useful in guiding and advising as to their future careers young people who unadvised might be content to yield to the easy temptation of casual labour. In the case of the Edinburgh bureau it is stated that over 60 per cent. of boys and girls applying have been found situations, most of them being apprenticed to different trades, and the others going to office and shop work, domestic service, and temporary work. When the different parts of the bureau, such as the School Board Committee, the Advisory Council, and the Executive Committee, have been developed and co-ordinated the bureau will be an exceedingly useful instrument in bridging the gap between the school and the labour market. It

deserves the support of every educational and public body, and should be established in every part of the country. It should be closely related to labour exchanges and help to prevent young people from entering blind-alley occupations and preparing them for something to continue at as the work of their after-life. It is only when our growing youths take advantage of technical education that our former reputation as a people distinguished for practical intelligence and skill can ever be regained. Only in this way can we become what Milton desired, "a strong and puissant nation"—a community of capable craftsmen and self-respecting citizens ; only in this way can we maintain a fair and honourable contest with such industrial rivals as Germany and the United States in supplying the markets of the world.



DESIGNS FOR BROADWAY, GARDEN CITY, LETCHWORTH.

(From "Town Planning in Practice," by Raymond Unwin.)

CHAPTER VII

THE GARDEN CITY AND ITS LESSON

THE Garden City is a picturesque ideal representing two innate and cognate instincts, or tendencies of human nature—the love of Nature and the love of social intercourse, the craving for solitude and the craving for society. In the one case life is called natural ; in the other it is regarded as being more or less artificial, in its best sense, however, of contributing to the utility and embellishment of life. This is the age of cities, and all the world is occupied with the problem of how to ensure healthier and happier conditions in connection with their development. It is felt that art and skill and foresight should control what has hitherto been left to chance, and that these ends would be promoted by a happy combination of the benefits belonging to the garden and to the city.

Let us see what these benefits are.

Man is meant to live amid the fair and happy aspects of creation, to take part in adding to the fertility and sweetness of the garden, so that it may spread out into the waste, and make it bloom and blossom as the rose.

Men often discuss the comparative advantages of living in the country or in the town. The poet sings, "God made the country, but man made the town." A sojourn in the country always pleases town folk, especially in the season when all is verdure, flowers, fruit, songs of birds, chants of haymakers, reapers ; when the days are long, fair, generous, and the paths and woods are scented ; when Nature receives her guests like a hospitable queen. Men count living in the country so full of charm that they are glad to leave the traffic and din of the city and flee to the solitude and hush of Nature, glad to take refuge from human strife and cruelty in its soothing and healing serenity. In lines written on revisiting Tintern Abbey, Wordsworth tells us how Nature never did betray the heart that loved her, how it is her privilege, through all the years of this our life, to lead him from joy to joy.

What are the benefits of the town, of the

city? Man is made for society as well as for solitude, for the city as well as for the country. There are social tendencies in our nature which it is necessary to cultivate. A man who had grown up alone would not be a man. We are members one of another, parts of a larger community, in a state of co-partnery for the common good. Now, the city is the highest form in which this hierarchy of mutual fellowship and service can be manifested. It has numerous points of contact, which the country, with its isolation and monotony, does not possess. It has its collective stimulus, its energetic pulse of life, its spirit of progress, its vast inventive resources to draw out the possibilities of man, to embellish and dignify his life. We live in an age of great cities, whose accumulations of social wealth attract crowds of people every year from country districts. The type of the Greek cities is becoming that of modern times ; the individual is more and more subordinated and made tributary to civic life. Mr. Chamberlain, speaking for Birmingham, says : " The municipality is ever present ; it is the active centre of all public life of the town ; its members are perpetually striving strenuously to promote the

good, the happiness, and welfare of the whole population. . . . The City Council are the directors of a great co-operative undertaking, in which every citizen is a shareholder, and the dividends are payable in the better health, in the increased comfort, in the recreation, and in the happiness of the whole population." Great changes have taken place during the last century in the country and town life of this island. A century ago we were more a country than a town people on to the middle of the nineteenth century, and about two-thirds of the population resided in villages and rural districts. Previous to the changes brought about by the industrial revolution, Wordsworth describes the cottages of the dalesmen of Cumberland as dwellings of the rudest description, but clothed in their vegetable garb of mosses, ferns, and flowers, as appearing to be taken into the bosom of the living principle of things. "Add," says he, "the little garden with its shed for bee-hives, its small bed of pot-herbs, and its patches of flowers for Sunday posies ; a cluster of embowering sycamores for summer shade, and the little rill murmuring in all seasons, and you have the idea of a mountain cottage, so beau-

tifully formed in itself, and so richly adorned by the hand of Nature."

The old Scottish peasant, with surroundings as picturesque as the Cumberland dalesman, furnishes tales of rustic life hardly ever known beyond the Cheviots, and now almost forgotten in Scotland. They are tales of humble worth, of thrift and independence, of pathos and humour, unexpected amid such conditions of laborious, and often sordid, village life. Out of Thrums and Drumtochty came the men who made the Scottish name, ornaments of literature like Burns, Hogg, Leyden, and Carlyle, and preachers without number who have contributed so much to the spirit and ministry of the Churches ; but the class makes no such contributions now. The idealism that hovered about such humble life, connecting it with the unseen and eternal, has fled ; the men who loved the farms they so long tilled, but loved their kirk more than their farm, are to be found no more ; the husbandmen who once tilled their fields and asked no help beyond their families have been driven off the land or degraded into hinds, with no refuge but the workhouse if the grave should be delayed.

In 1828 Sir Walter Scott wrote: "Nature intended that population should be diffused over the soil in proportion to its extent. We have accumulated in huge cities and smothering manufactories the numbers which should be spread over the face of a country; and what wonder that they should be corrupted? We have turned healthful and pleasant brooks into morasses and pestiferous lakes—what wonder the soil should be unhealthy?" Let us adduce a last witness to the lost picturesqueness of country life and the squalid hideousness of town life, especially of a mining town's life, as it encroaches upon the purity and health of the old farms and hillside fields. In 1910 Edward Thomas, an essayist of fine distinction, sets forth the evil of this encroachment in a single instance: "One such crone crawling out into the light, unclean, dull, and yet surprised, had a look as if she had just been exhumed; she might have been buried alive in the foundation of the town for luck, and have now emerged to see what had been done. They were seen outside the taverns with their hands hidden under the remains of aprons, or were questing in the dustbins for food, or unbroken glass;

often they carried babies, in whose shapeless faces was hidden the power to excel their grandmothers."

These two pictures with their startling contrasts show the fateful consequences due to changes in rural and urban areas. Many a town and village is still a joy on the landscape, but the modern industrial town, with its outspreading squalor, is a desecration of scenery. Ugliness is a prevailing feature of our industrial and manufacturing centres of population, and it was this feature that turned William Morris into a socialist.

The normal development of cities and towns, according to the modern ideal, ought to run on lines which unite the benefits of town and country life ; the pure air, bright sunshine, and deep quietude of the one, with the facile communication, the bright intercourse, and throbbing activity of the other. The Garden City by its very name accords with this idea. To develop the towns on lines which unite such benefits is a great and worthy ideal, but one that was never dreamed of at the period when our towns underwent their sudden and marvellous expansions. It may be thought a dream

of Utopia to hope for the benefits of town and country in one to any large extent, but they must be secured if we as a nation are to continue in the line of our past traditions ; and it is a fact of immeasurable significance that men's thoughts are turned to these things now as they were never before, and such is a hopeful sign that new social ideals can be, and will be, realised.

In the Garden City we see a balance of town and country, kept by the country being more with us and by the town dispersing itself, " going forth into the fields and lodging in the villages."

The Garden City movement of our time was initiated by the publication twelve years ago of Ebenezer Howard's epoch-making book on the " Garden Cities of To-morrow." It seeks to embody an ideal of urban and rural life, an ideal of open and ornamental spaces, making the town as sweet and pleasant to dwell in as the country. That book bids the reader imagine an estate embracing an area of 6,000 acres, purely agricultural and obtained by purchase at a cost of £40 an acre, or £240,000. All ground-rents are to be paid in the long run to the new municipality and employed in

creating and maintaining all necessary public works. Garden City covers an area of 1,000 acres, and is of a circular form, 1,240 yards from centre to circumference. In the centre is a space of about six acres, laid out as a beautiful garden, and round it are the larger public buildings, such as town-hall, concert and lecture-hall, library, picture-gallery, and hospital. Beyond these buildings, set in their own grounds, is laid out the central park, consisting of 145 acres, with recreation-grounds and easy access to them. Skirting the park is a large arcade, called the Crystal Palace, which acts as a shelter in foul weather, while it is a winter garden as well as a great shopping centre, in which attractive wares are exposed for sale. Still passing outwards, we come to Fifth Avenue, lined, as all the roads of the town are, with trees, and find a ring of excellently built houses, each standing in its own grounds. Next we come upon Grand Avenue, 420 feet wide, and forming an additional park of 115 acres. Sites for public schools and churches are here to be erected. The houses fronting on Grand Avenue leave the general plan of concentric rings, and are arranged in crescents. Six

magnificent boulevards, each 120 feet wide, cross the city from centre to circumference, and divide it into six equal parts. On the outer ring of the town factories and workshops are placed, and in a direction where the smoke nuisance is least injurious, being carried away by the prevailing wind. The city covers an area of a sixth part of the estate, and the remaining 5,000 acres are occupied by large farms and small holdings and allotments, the city affording the most natural market to the people employed on the agricultural estate. Such is a brief outline of a Garden City, and Mr. Howard, who describes it with much more detail, sums up the proposal as a golden opportunity afforded by the fact that the land to be settled upon is virgin soil, and should be availed of in the fullest manner ; as he says, "by so laying out a Garden City that, as it grows, the free gifts of Nature—fresh air, sunlight, breathing room, and playing room—shall be still retained in all needed abundance, and by so employing the resources of modern science that art may supplement nature, and life may become an abiding joy and delight."

Howard states that his proposal is one which

originated in the thoughtful study of many minds like those of Herbert Spencer, Professor Marshall, the great economist, and others, and is intended to combine the important features of several schemes, advocated at various times. It aims at so combining them as to secure the best results of each, and avoiding the dangers sometimes associated with those schemes. When Garden City has grown to a population of 32,000, no more building is to be permitted on the agricultural land around it, but another city is to be built at some distance with a zone of country of its own, and in this way a cluster of cities round the central city may be grouped, and connected with it and with one another by an inter-municipal railway. "And because the people in their collective capacity own the land on which this beautiful group of cities is built, the public buildings would be on a scale of magnificence which no city in the world whose land is in pawn to private individuals can afford."

It will be observed that Garden City differs from existing cities in being laid out with deliberate forethought, and ordered down to the minutest details.

Old cities have grown up, according to a well-known phrase, in a fit of absence of mind, without plan or regulation, without regard to the house space of their inhabitants, or the conditions on which the health and morality of human life depend.

Take London, for example, which has grown up in a chaotic manner, without any unity of design, at the haphazard of any one fortunate enough to own land in its neighbourhood. No main arteries have been provided for, and in the case of many small landowners the only object has been to crowd upon the land as many streets and houses as possible, regardless of the convenience and wants of the population.

No rational methods have hitherto prevailed in the development, organisation, and government of our larger towns, and so no small part of the life of the community has been stifled in a maze of mean streets and back-land rookeries. In striking contrast with such anomalies, Garden City is definitely planned as a whole, and characterised by unity of design and purpose.

It has been so planned as to eliminate the evils that abound in existing towns of the land.

It seeks studiously to exclude the aspect of ugliness by which they are marked. It shows a determination to make the city a more beautiful as well as a more wholesome place to live in, by providing it with parks, cleaner streets, and higher ideas of municipal art. Our modern cities, which claim four-fifths of the population, are afflicted by that terrible plague, the existence of slums at their very centre ; these congested areas have become great human warrens, crowded to suffocation, and filled with underfed human beings, struggling for a place to live. In these large slum areas are bred epidemics, sickness, drunkenness, crime, decay of citizenship, and an end to the home. The Garden City, on the contrary, does not know the slum. From centre to circumference it will be the city beautiful, with its garden at the centre, its stretches of parkage and open sunshine, its scheme of planting and rearing trees, and its boulevards running out to the agricultural environment. The slum must be rooted out, and the garden put in its place, and made to blossom like the rose. Amidst present awakenings to civic renaissance the noblest function of citizenship is to make a worthy city ; it is the final

and complete expression of a city sense. But the ideal city requires the ideal citizen. Something more than a fine co-ordination of architecture and scenery is needed to build the city as it ought to be. Its citizens ought to be enamoured of moral no less than of artistic beauty, in order to embody the highest ideals of city life.

Garden City is no mere Utopia, but has materialised into actual form, and thus affords its lesson of permanent value in the region of social and civic experiment. At the close of 1903 an estate of nearly six miles square, or 3,818 acres, was bought at the cost of £152,000 for the purpose of laying out such a city. It is situated at Letchworth, in North Herts, on the borders of Bedfordshire, from 200 to 350 feet above the sea-level. Only 1,300 acres will be used for the site of the little town; the remaining acres form a large agricultural belt, divided up into small holdings of 5 to 10 acres each. Already 80 allotments have been taken up, while on the building-ground the houses number 1,066, and the population is over 6,000. The Company in charge of the estate has planted 45,000 trees, in the midst of charming scenery.

So great is the wealth of beautiful flowers and foliage that it is difficult to realise that so much has been achieved within seven years. Twelve cottages are built to one acre, the number erring on the large side as compared with other garden suburbs. The Company has made 8 miles of roads, 17 of water mains, 12 of gas mains, 11 of sewers ; it has also provided good shops, swimming-baths, golf-links, cricket, and other athletic grounds. Workshops and factories are not planted at the side of human habitations, but in a special locality. The little city has on the eastern side a factory area of 125 acres, and here we find 11 factories and 13 workshops already open. Two large establishments, those of Messrs. W. H. Smith and J. Dent & Co., both employing hundreds of persons, have removed to Letchworth, and others are expected to do so ere long.

The two peculiar features of this first Garden City are that it exists, not only for the working classes but for every class of the community, and that it is a courageous attempt to found a new city on what was formerly agricultural land. It is so much easier to secure the sanitary, artistic, and economic objects of a town when

commencing with an unencumbered area than in the case of improving the maladjustment of existing towns. It is a pioneer attempt, and though mistakes may have been made, the total result is full of instruction and encouragement.

The Garden City, as a movement for abating the tidal wave to the town, for bringing the town into the country, and then the country into the town, has captured the imagination of the British people, especially in the southern parts of England, and has set agoing a series of experiments too numerous to mention. Far-seeing and philanthropic manufacturers, like Mr. Cadbury and Mr. Lever, have transferred their works to the country, and have built for their workers the beautiful garden cities of Bournville and Port Sunlight. In Bournville lessees are not allowed to erect more than eleven houses on one acre, and all houses have the use and enjoyment of a garden at least three times the area of the actual site of the house. Among the last of the garden cities to be formed is that of a model village founded by Mr. Rowntree near York. It is in a rural district and subject to rural bylaws, and, being free from the pressure of extravagant urban bylaws,

labourers' cottages can be provided with a living-room 20 feet by 12 feet 6 inches, a larder and scullery on the ground floor, and three bedrooms upstairs at a rent of five shillings per week, exclusive of rates. Out of the 120 acres comprising the estate, ten or twelve acres have been reserved for open spaces. The main roadways are 18 feet, with 6 feet of grass between the roadway and footpath on each side of it. Trees are planted on the grass verges ; the trees and hedges that were found on the estate have been worked into gardens, instead of being cut down as usually happens in an ordinary suburb.

The problem raised and so far settled by the Garden City is how to make it a stepping-stone to some higher and better form of industrial life. Instead of our crowded, planless, unhealthy cities like tumours on the face of the landscape, the experiments now spoken of show us towns in which orderly methods and social aspirations may have the fullest opportunity of expressing themselves. Whether the overcrowding and insanitation of our modern towns shall yet give place to well-ordered cities it is hard to tell. Rome was not built in a

day, and such changes cannot be expected in a day or a year. If the desolations of many generations can be repaired in as many more, it shall be well. The difficulty is not in man's environment, but in man, who needs to be awakened to a sense of the becoming and beautiful. An awakening of the civic conscience stirs bands of patriotic spirits everywhere, but the surrounding apathy is still dense and impenetrable ; a polity of fairer conditions has been initiated, but an iron ring of monopoly and vested interests stands in the way of a free and healthy city development.

Great changes are being wrought by the victories over space and time in regard to transit facilities between town and country. The automobile is working something like a social and economic revolution in the Western world ; there it is coming to be recognised as more than a passing fad, a toy for the delectation of the rich. Everybody agrees that it has come to stay, and to serve purposes of business as well as pleasure. In his " Anticipations " Mr. H. G. Wells, dreaming mechanical dreams, pictures new machines travelling freely in every direction from the city's centre under the easy

control of their several owners, and helping thus to scatter the city far and wide over the surrounding counties. The city itself is only a kind of shopping and business centre, which remains as a connecting link of radiating strands of smaller towns, manufactories, and villages, to which ready access is obtained by means of the new, cheap, mechanical contrivances. Such an anticipation has hardly come within the scope of the Briton's imagination, but an article in *Munsey's Magazine* for August, 1910, entitled "The Automobile—a Miracle of the Twentieth Century," reads like a romance, as it tells how the motor-vehicle robs distance of its terrors, and achieves possibilities hitherto undreamed of in the saving of time. The extraordinary spread of the automobile movement in America is attested by the fact that fifteen years ago a few hundred cars were produced, costing 150,000 dollars, while this year's output numbers 200,000 machines, worth £225,000,000. There is a car for every 160 persons in the United States ; in Nebraska the average works out at one machine to every hundred of population ; in Los Angeles, in California, the average is one in forty, which gives a motor to one

out of every eight or ten families. This phenomenal expansion in the use of the motor-vehicle is an epoch-making event, and shows that what has been achieved to-day in Western America will to-morrow be achieved in every part of the world.

The effect of this revolution is strikingly seen in the rural districts—as in the State of Nebraska, where the farmer employs a machine that can carry him to visit a neighbour forty miles away one evening, and by a clever contrivance can carry his produce to the city or railway-station next morning forty miles in the other direction.

Not less wonderful is the transformation likely to be wrought by the motor-car on city life. Already in the richer quarters of the city the evidence of drift countrywards is advertised on boards with “Houses to Sell or Let” to be seen in squares and crescents. As a means of getting between city and country the auto has made it possible to live in the suburbs. Not only is the garden suburb idea of a “garlanded chain” round the metropolis like that of Hampstead Heath and others made possible, but it enables people to live ten or twenty miles out

amid the beauties of the country and to come backward and forward to town for business. It favours the conversion of agricultural lands into townships and villages of the garden suburb type, so that London, as Mr. John Burns predicts, "might extend from Windsor to Gravesend, and from Hayward's Heath to Northampton."

The "railway age" marked the course of last century; the "motor age" may well mark the present century; and the aeroplane may be the greatest miracle of the three in the century to come.

In conclusion, let us notice how the Garden City ideal possesses some of the features which belong to the ideal city of God described in the end of the Apocalypse. The "holy city," the "heavenly Jerusalem" which John saw descending out of heaven from God, has its "pure river of water of life, clear as crystal. . . . In the midst of the street of it, and on either side of the river, was there the tree of life, which bare twelve manner of fruits, . . . and the leaves of the tree were for the healing of the nations." Sceptic after sceptic has sneered at the heavenly Jerusalem as a piece of vulgar jewellery—a carica-

ture which betrays a lamentable absence of the power of vision. There have been many visions of the ideal city. Plato gave his vision to the Greeks ; Sir Thomas More gave another to the Elizabethan age ; but the Christian vision surpasses any of them in its combination of beauty of form and beauty of character. It is a vision which sets forth the strife against ugliness as a frustration of Heaven's plan—it is a scene in which all is symmetrical and complete, where Nature is scattered through the city in her living and loveliest forms, and where the beauty of holiness presides over all. "There shall in no wise enter into it anything that defileth." Our communal life should be an intimate, harmonious blend of the spiritual and the material, each recognised as agreeable to the will of God. By that fair ideal, and for it, we ought to live and work, all of us who bear the Christian name. Let this be to each of us a sacred undertaking.

"I will not cease from mental strife,
Nor shall my sword sleep in my hand,
Till we have built Jerusalem
In England's green and pleasant land."

CHAPTER VIII

CITY BUILDING, PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE

THE history of city building takes us back into a remote past, and is a study that furnishes one of the most illuminating chapters in the annals of civilisation. From the earliest times, the gregarious instinct has massed the human race into great centres of population. On the plains of the Tigris and Euphrates, and in the valley of the Nile, have been discovered monumental remains that prove, not only the existence of mighty cities but also an acquaintance with art and science.

Nineveh and Babylon, Thebes and Heliopolis were already far advanced in architecture and sculpture thousands of years before the Christian era. The Assyrian correctness of execution excels everything else known in Asiatic art. Assyria and Egypt are the sources of later developments in architecture and sculpture, that add to the beautification of cities.

We begin our survey of the making of the city with three famous examples—Jerusalem, Athens, and Rome ; three sceptred sovran that not only figured greatly in ancient days, but still rule us from their urns. Each of these has played a transcendent part in the story of civic achievements, and made a distinct contribution to the wealth of mankind.

Jerusalem represents the Passion for Righteousness, Athens the Passion for Beauty, and Rome the Passion for Power. The first may appear to have no interest in illustrating civic art, but in the abiding secret of the essential city, in the architecture that is building up of character, in the sculpturing of the will and conscience, its interest is supreme. They are all children of the one great law of Harmony, Balance, Equity, suggested now by one, now by another nation.

Jerusalem, the city of David, stood on two rocky spurs, sloping southward, and facing the desert. It was surrounded by mountains higher than itself. That hill city 2,600 feet above the sea in its grim and lonely environment, was the home of psalmists and prophets who sang of the glories, and interpreted the laws, of the

kingdom of God. It has given to the world a literature which is unique in its sacredness, as a coherent and consistent revelation of the mind and will of God. The history of the Bible is the record, among other things, of the growth in definiteness and supremacy over all counter influences of sight and nature, and habit, of the idea of the kingdom of God, and His righteousness. We may trace this idea from earlier to later days, under the inspired discipline of successive generations, till it culminates in Jesus Christ when He came, preaching the Gospel of the Kingdom. How the attribute of righteousness dominates the Bible from beginning to end is manifest in the Psalms, which declare God to be "righteousness in all His ways and holy in all His works"—One whose "righteousness is like the great mountains, and His judgments are a great deep." It is called "the City of righteousness" by Isaiah, and by John of Patmos "the Holy City descending out of heaven from God" to be the city of man. Jerusalem was the city where righteousness was worshipped as the sovereign reality of life. This kingdom is governed by one supreme moral purpose, the law of righteousness, holiness, and

truth. Psalmists and prophets exhibit the kingdom as marked by a law more firm than the round world which cannot be moved, the eternal law of right and wrong, founded on fellowship with that "Power not ourselves, which makes for righteousness." They also announce its universal character. Nothing is so remarkable in literature as the fact common to all stages of Sacred Scripture, and always growing in depth and strength and purity—the fact of the passion for righteousness, the hatred of iniquity.

As the Jews surpass any other people in the clearness of their ethical and spiritual insights, so the Greeks far outshine other races in the splendours of thought and artistic creations. It has been said that the Greeks could not make ugliness, they tried with the Gorgon and carved Medusa, they were so animated with an ardour of love for loveliness. Concerning beauty they feel it, according to William Morris, to be a positive necessity of life, if we are to live as Nature meant us to—that is, unless we are content to be less than men; and so Athens might be called "the City of beauty" as Jerusalem was called "the City of righteousness." It

embodied Aristotle's definition of a city "as a place where men live a common life for a noble end." On the Acropolis the most glorious monuments of architecture and sculpture were assembled, six temples of the tutelary divinities of the city.

First rose the Parthenon, and the Propylaia, entrance to the Parthenon, all built of white marble, still, after the lapse of centuries, among the wonders of the world.

All along the coast, extending itself over a wide and beautiful plain, rose splendid buildings. The Temple of Jupiter, of which sixteen grand Corinthian columns still remain to the south-east of the Acropolis, and in size, splendour, and beauty excelled all other Athenian structures. It was decorated by about 120 fluted columns, 61 feet in height, and more than 6 feet in diameter; it contained the celebrated statue of the Olympian Jupiter, in ivory and gold, the work of Phidias.

The enthusiastic love of the beautiful which animated the Athenians turned their religion into an art. If they had been monotheistic, as they were anthropomorphic, they would have regarded the Supreme Being as the God of

Beauty. The Greek invested his gods with human attributes, and surrounded them with a halo of glorious Divine beauty ; they constantly modelled and remodelled, until they reached the acme of perfection.

Art in the case of the Greek was a genuine inspiration, working from within outward, and creating a beauty which he regarded as necessary to life. We have much to learn from the Greeks in matters of art. We are so accustomed to live in environments where beauty has little or no place, that we do not realise the ugliness of modern life. Amiel says that " if the measure of a civilisation is to be the number of perfected men that it produces, we are still far from a model people ; the slaves are no longer below us, but they are among us ; barbarism is no longer at our frontiers, it lives side by side with us."

It is in the contrast between the beauty of a Greek city and the ugliness of modern towns that we see ourselves to be little better than barbarians.

Rome is notable among ancient nations for its love of power, its lust of conquest ; its story for twenty-six centuries is the most

splendid romance in all history, the story of how the village of wattled huts on the Tiber rose to be a city of palaces, placed on seven hills, and surrounded by the great Servian Wall, which wound for seven miles in and out among the seven hills. At the zenith of its power it conquered Greece and Asia Minor, bringing back the wealth of the East to adorn its principal spaces ; it subdued the barbarian backwoodsmen of German forests, and ran a wall between the mouths of the Clyde and the Forth, and thus held back the Caledonians, stern and wild, of our Scottish Highlands. Rome could not be called, like Jerusalem, " a city of righteousness," for its walls were founded in blood, and its temples were built out of the wealth of conquered nations by captives and slaves of subject races. Nor could it be called, like Athens, " the City Beautiful," because it could not claim to have developed any creative, artistic genius of its own ; it borrowed from Greece the various orders, Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian. The favourite order of the Romans was the Corinthian, because it suited the desire which existed for richness and luxuriance in architecture. A combination of the Ionic and Corin-

thian is sometimes called "the Roman order." Rome has solid claims to be the most interesting city in the world, but apart from the contents of her galleries and museums, which no more adorn it than the Elgin Marbles adorn London, has the slightest claims for beauty ; the Romans had no conception at all of the nature or uses of æsthetic beauty. Not only were their temples and other buildings ignoble in themselves, but ignobly placed, and told for little in the enhancement of the city ; the Greek temples, beautiful to look upon as models of perfect symmetry, were placed where they could be best seen ; raised on lofty rocks or hilltops, they overlooked the city at their feet, and still their ruins attract the wondering gaze ; while the Roman ruins, stuffed into a narrow lane of a forum, seem anxious to avoid a scrutiny which their lack of proportion ill rewards.

What might have been found in the obscurer parts of these populous cities history does not make clear. Little mention is made in the Bible of the streets of Jerusalem ; they may have been not unlike those still to be found there—long, narrow, and sombre. Pompeii was a lesser Rome in many ways. Now its streets were laid

out with mathematical regularity, and so they furnish a classic instance of intelligent and symmetrical town-planning.

Information is rather scanty in regard to the crowded areas of Athens and Rome. The Fora of Rome were open spaces of ground serving as market-places, and other spaces of much larger extent were to be found set with trees and works of art ; it also abounded in covered walks, supported by columns open on one side, adorned with paintings and works of art, and these were frequented for purposes of recreation. There was a general sense of regularity in the laying out of Greek and Roman streets ; but this difference existed in the building arrangements, that where the Greek adapted his plans to the site, the Roman adapted his site to the plans, removing rocks and levelling the ground to secure an unobstructed field for building operations.

The Mediæval City.

Famous instances are to be found in Rothenburg, Nuremburg, and Bruges. There are two classes of town plans, the regular and formal, and the irregular. The formal, geometrical type

of planning is that adopted by Baron Haussman in the reconstruction of Paris, but the mediæval towns have a special interest and picturesqueness on account of their irregularity. They exhibit hardly any straight lines or symmetrical views. Camillo Litte, a well-known student of the mediæval towns, has in his great book "*Der Städtebau*" affirmed of such irregularities that they apparently have so much system and art in them as to have been more deliberately planned than is usually thought. He declares them to have been designed in lines which not only provided thorough convenience for traffic, but were in harmony with the artistic principles upon which the beauty of towns must depend, and then fully understood by mediæval builders.

This informal beauty may excite our admiration and suggest to us types of building, but it needs to be remembered that we live under conditions different from those of the Middle Ages ; and there is danger in trying to copy those old town designs, a danger from which Litte and his school are not exempt.

The principal institutions of a complete mediæval city, the city at its greatest, were the

cathedral and town hall, the abbey, and the castle, which represented aristocratic and democratic elements, but together unified and completed civic life.

The cathedral represented the spiritual aspirations of the citizens, while the town hall represented the economic or industrial forces. In the mediæval period, we find what Greek architecture lacked, the Gothic element—the aspiring impulse, communion with the unseen, aspiration toward heaven. The city was a living unity, just as temporal and spiritual elements were harmonised, and their common devotion to civic interests helped to produce good workmanship. So it was that the craftsman was marked by some degree of creative individual activity and masterhood. Mediæval village churches were often built without the aid of any architect, because every workman was also an artist. The abbey was itself a city of the spirit, with ideal aspirations often applied to the uplifting of life. The castle stood for the knights of mediæval England, while the abbey became a potent factor in the education of the nobles, devoting those knights-errant to the protection of the defenceless, the succour

of the distressed, the worship of woman, and the pursuit of the chivalrous ideal.

The Renaissance City.

The Renaissance was a re-birth or re-discovery of Greek and Roman ideals in Art and Literature—a re-entrance of those ideals into the civilisation of society; it was a genuine return to the gladness and glory of Nature, whether in the outer world or in the soul of man. The Classical Revival extended altogether from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century, but Renaissance architecture more strictly dated from 1420 to 1580, covering the lives of Brunelleschi and Bramante, Michael Angelo and Rubens, who with a multitude of other builders have created masterpieces, beautiful and various beyond description. The movement began in Italian cities, and a rich harvest of Renaissance production has made these cities the scenes and centres of the noblest art. What is it that gives dignity and beauty to old cities like Florence and Venice, Pisa and Milan? Largely the mighty groups of buildings in their piazzas and ample cathedral closes. In their entirety such scenes are more than individual: they are

national or communal, the outgrowth of a fine consciousness of civic unity and patriotism. They form the background and setting of the life of a free community.

It was the free cities that bred the great artists. Such great collective achievements expressed the civic life in most characteristic fashion. When we speak of Florence or Venice, there rises up before us the image of those splendid vistas of broad space and arch and column that formed and expressed the arenas of the city's most intense life. Nine-tenths of the beauty and nobleness of this varied architecture is non-transferable, but it is built into the essential aspect of these great Italian cities.

For England the period most characteristic of the Renaissance was roughly the sixteenth and first half of the seventeenth century. Let us transfer our gaze to another city than that of Florence or Milan—to the City of Edinburgh in the time of the Reformation. As the Renaissance proper meant the return of Athens and Rome into Western civilisation, so the Reformation was a return of Jerusalem and its civic ideal, especially into the city of John Knox. He

was its chief citizen, making it vibrate with his fearless message, direct from the God of Righteousness. In the city there were still the leading features of mediæval times—the castle, the Cathedral of St. Giles, the Town Hall, and the Abbey of Holyrood. The altars of the saints were removed, the cathedral was gutted, and from his pulpit the Reformer fulminated against the old superstitions, and proclaimed the rights of democracy, the principles of civil and religious liberty.

An extension of the city, begun about 1769, combines some of the most picturesque and beautiful features of Renaissance town-planning. The "Nor Loch" was drained and transformed into a garden, now one of the finest known in any city of Europe, and skirted by Princes Street, with its stately buildings. Parallel to it are George Street and Queen Street—the first with magnificent terminal squares, the second fronting finely-wooded gardens. Below these are numerous *Places* and crescents. Cross streets command extensive outlooks across the Forth, to the north and southward, to the old town and castle. In these cross streets there is an ample provision of small tenements,

so that not one class of people only is provided for, as in many modern suburbs. It is this laying out of the new town of Edinburgh on artistic and generous lines, as well as its literary aim, which has merited the title so often given to it of "Modern Athens."

The Modern City.

The modern period of city building corresponds with the industrial revolution of the last century, which extends over nearly a hundred years. During that period great centres of population were suddenly created all over the land, and the industrial towns were called into existence. The outstanding feature of these towns was the complete absence of symmetry and orderly arrangement in their laying-out. They have risen up in a planless, haphazard way, without any regard to a sense of beauty in the structure of buildings, whether for the work or the workers. The various constituent parts of modern cities and towns have been dumped down and huddled together—the shop and factory, the hovel, the tenement, and the mansion. The modern town bristles with tall

chimneys, whose volumes of smoke make the air almost unbreathable. Round the factory and spereading outwards rows upon rows of gim-crack brick boxes, so-called dwellings, are to be found, and the inhumanity and barbarian ugliness of this state of things extend, not only to mining villages and small manufacturing towns, but even to the larger cities and towns of the land. Cobbett compared the London of his day to a great wen growing upon the fair face of England, and Lord Rosebery in our day, improving on that image, compared it to a tumour. Ruskin, in the "*Stones of Venice*," represented the industrial towns as "clotted and coagulated spots of a dreadful mildew." Slumdom, we have said, is a prevailing characteristic of our big towns, such as Birmingham, Manchester, Glasgow, and so forth. There is no need to repeat or exaggerate the twice-told tale of the slum, with its environment of overcrowding, squalor, and temptation, with its diseases of tuberculosis, diphtheria, and pneumonia, and with its victims of idleness, intemperance, and criminality. It is enough to say of this industrial development that the amenity of life was sacrificed on the altar of the brute

god Mammon, that the making of money and not the making, but the marring, of man was the all-absorbing pursuit of the time. It was an age of individualism, in which every man, from the great lord of acres to the jerry-builder, did that which was right in his own eyes—and generally it was wrong ; in which the ideal of the Greek cities and those of the Renaissance was never so much as dreamed of ; in which the housing of the people did not supply the necessary elements of a well-regulated family life, and proved alien to good citizenship. For wellnigh a century the process of city-deformity has been at work, and it will take more than a century to clear away the chaos, and create a new order of city building that shall add architectural and artistic harmony to the surroundings of civic life. What man has done in cities of the past may be done again in our day, with all the advantages of our modern inventions. The legislators of great States begin to understand that a nation which lets its cities degenerate to the tolerance of slums cannot produce men and women fit to carry on the race. Many visitors to old continental art cities return with the conviction that skill and fore-

sight should control what hitherto has been left to chance, and that there is a real art of city making, which in this country ought to be mastered and carried out in practice. In the work of carefully planning city extensions Germany leads the way ; American cities have been aroused to activity, and Great Britain is awaking to the urgency of new civic developments. Careful systems of town planning have been at work in Germany for more than thirty years, practically since the beginning of her industrial development. In that country the dominant feeling is a pride of city, shared by every member of the community in a way as yet but imperfectly understood amongst ourselves. An article in the *Atlantic Monthly* for July, 1909, gives details of "the German way of making better cities," and describes how the German fits each building into its proper place, as the Italian fits the individual stone to the mosaic whole, and so builds up a well-designed city. These constructive methods may be arranged under four heads: town planning and the use of foresight in determining its execution ; the building of model tenements which take care of defects in housing and balance a

spirit of speculation ; the encouragement of private builders and co-operative building societies ; the demolition of the slum, either by removing old buildings and replacing them by new, or by business offices or parks. German town-planning schemes seek to sift out dwellings from the chaotic mass with a view to sending them into the suburbs, and leaving industries in the centre of the town. In Cologne and the towns of Saxony the "zone" system exists for regulating the height of houses, which in the centre of the city may rise to five stories, but in outer "zones" only to three stories, and no building may occupy more than 40 per cent. of its lot. Therefore, the farther a zone is from the centre the smaller the number of houses to an acre, and the smaller the number of stories allowed to a house. Dusseldorf, a comparatively modern town, having 17,000 inhabitants in the beginning of last century, and now 300,000, has been æsthetically laid out from start to finish. Relinquishing an earlier plan of mathematical lines, it adopted one later with pleasant curving lines of roads, and cutting up the vista with oases of shrubs and flower-beds. Its streets are wide and perfectly arranged

and beautifully planned. The area for future Cologne and Dusseldorf has stretched out in civic extensions to the magnitude of Berlin. In the town of Frankfort a law exists known as *Lex Adickes*, which gives the city power to acquire compulsorily for the time being any area of land or property said to be overcrowded, or otherwise undesirable. The area having been cleared of buildings, the land is then consolidated, and, after deduction is made for streets and squares, the original owners are allotted new plots equal to those held before the redistribution. The public spirit of the owners has been such that in no case has resort to compulsory power occurred, the rearrangement of sites having been a matter of mutual agreement. The power possessed by German municipal authorities for acquiring and dealing in land is one which proves of great advantage to the community. Towns have been advised by the State to purchase land as opportunity offered, and, acting upon that instruction, many of them own considerable areas both within and without their own boundaries. This prevents owners from charging an extortionate price on land needed for improvements or for town-planning

purposes. In this way the schemes of enterprising private owners and land speculators are checkmated. In regard to town planning German cities teach us a hundred lessons, but in regard to domestic sanitation and huge tenement blocks, as compared with the self-contained cottage and garden, England sets the example.

The National Housing Reform Council, in its Continental Town Planning Tour of 1909, acknowledges that among German cities it had daily experience of a civic pride and patriotism, of foresight and official assiduity, of command of science and power of organisation, such as our cities have seldom separately equalled and never as yet combined. One of the company, summing up for ourselves the lessons which should be learned, says : "What we need, more immediately, is wider municipal powers to acquire and hold land, to expropriate private owners where necessary, and to formulate comprehensive schemes of development, coupled with greater elasticity of building bylaws, and at the back of all a greater pride in civic life and unity and in the appreciation of its possibilities."

In this country the first great step taken by the Legislature to remedy the congestion of urban, and the mal-development of suburban, areas was the passing of the Housing of the Working Classes Act of 1890. It consists of three distinct provisions. Part I. provides for a complete removal of slum houses by the erection of model dwellings on the same site or on less expensive ground in the suburbs. Part II. provides for the compulsory setting in order of unfit habitations at the owner's cost, or for their demolition if he refuses to act. Part III. empowers local authorities to purchase land, to erect houses, and to provide for gardens, open spaces, and recreation-grounds.

Three years after this Act was passed the present writer published his book on "The Church and Social Problems," and, after a statement of its aims, said that it had proved a dead letter. Seventeen years have come and gone since then, and we are still face to face with a gigantic and depressing problem of overcrowding in the large cities and provincial towns of our land. There are five millions in this country living in houses that urgently require improvement either in their fabrics or surround-

ings. In London alone 900,000 are said to live in overcrowded rooms. The powers granted by the Housing Act of 1890 are ample enough to secure a thoroughgoing reform of insanitary areas, so that during the last twenty years the housing and overcrowding problem ought to have been almost solved ; if public opinion had been sufficiently educated and strengthened, the provisions of the Act might have been effectively carried out. In great towns like Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, and Glasgow the work of slum clearance has been attempted under Part I., with the result that 10,805 houses have been dealt with, costing £4,202,655. 54,030 persons have been re-housed, giving an average of £77 15s. per person. The London County Council has spent a million and a half on plans for clearing insanitary areas and re-housing 35,950 people, each person costing the extravagant sum of £50 to £70. The truth of the matter is that the Housing Act is nullified by the enormous gravity of the problem. The ruinous cost of compulsory purchase under Part I. would amount to £250,000,000, a sum that renders a solution of the problem wellnigh impossible. Part I. puts the burden of repair-

ing insanitary houses on the ratepayers, while Part II. puts it on the owners. If it were put in both cases on the right shoulders, there might be some solution of the problem. Fair and equitable terms ought to be given, but the true equity here is to sweep away, without compunction or compensation, properties that breed poverty, disease, and crime, and are possessed by owners simply for the sake of filthy lucre. A municipal housebuilder thus puts it: "Our slums are gilt-edged securities. People who want to get rich quickly, and do not care very much what methods they adopt to attain that end, buy slums. The worse the slum, the better the owner's chance of realising huge profits on his investments."

The Future City.

Our study in city-building in industrial areas proves once more the truth of the adage that "prevention is better than cure."

The Germans have adopted the method of prevention by beginning their city developments without the slum, its squalor, and ugliness.

The British have allowed insanitary areas to grow up within the centre of their cities, and

still "the Ghettos of meanness and the Alsacias of squalor" are where they have been for the last twenty years.

The problem of their removal is one of such appalling magnitude and complexity as almost to baffle the wit of man. The resources of civilisation—hygienic, artistic, and economic—at our command are unlimited, but somehow we cannot bring them to bear upon the beautification of our towns and cities. The blighting grip of the landowner, the land speculator, and the jerry-builder has obstructed the progress of civic improvement.

An equitable rating of urban land values could create a fund ample enough to meet the expense of providing all necessities of city life, and to transmute squalid slums into open garden spaces, where the children might play, no more in little Darker Africas among cellar dwellings and back-to-back houses, but in the bright, open sunshine—where old men might rest and breathe fresh air in the shade.

Ample powers were granted in the 1890 Act to demolish unfit habitations in slum areas, only to prove a dismal failure; will the new powers of the Housing and Town Planning Act of

1909 fare any better in regard to future developments? The President of the Local Government Board, who engineered the Bill with great ability, indulged in dreaming dreams when he spoke of creating "the home healthy, the house beautiful, the town pleasant, the city dignified, and the suburb salubrious." This 1909 Act strengthens the regulations for the removal of existing, and the prevention of future, evils; it gives power to the Central Government to compel unwilling or dilatory local authorities to take steps to abolish slums, and to erect suitable dwellings for the working classes, under Part III. of the 1890 Act; again, it gives the Board power of entry into a house for the purpose of examining its condition, and determining whether any powers of the Housing Act should be exercised. It enacts that after July 1, 1910, cellar dwellings be deemed unfit for human habitation, and prohibits the future erection of back-to-back houses. The most interesting feature of this legislation is that of town-planning schemes which may be prepared by local authorities or by landowners "as respects any land likely to be used for building purposes, and of any neighbouring land."

Town planning is by no means a modern notion. After the great fire in London of 1668, Sir Christopher Wren submitted to King and Parliament a great planning scheme for the City, and that plan anticipated many of the ideas current to-day. The streets were to be of three magnitudes ; the three principal leading straight through the city, one or two cross streets to be at least 90 feet wide, others 60 feet, and lanes about 30 feet, excluding all narrow, dark alleys without thoroughfares and courts. The Exchange was to stand free in the middle of a piazza, and to be the centre of the town, from which the 60-foot streets were to proceed to all the principal parts of the city. The streets of the first and second magnitude were to remain as straight as possible, and to centre in four or five piazzas. " All churchyards, gardens, and unnecessary vicinities, and all trades that use great fires, or yield noisome smells, to be placed out of the town."

This plan suggested something like the *Lex Adickes* in the city of Frankfort, proposing that individual parcels of land should be given into the hands of commissioners to rearrange the area, each person getting back as nearly as

possible the amount of his own plot, after the new roads and groupings of buildings had been completed. If Sir Christopher's plan of reconstruction had been carried out, it would have saved London untold health and wealth and toil during the past two and a half centuries.

Town planning is a policy that claims the entire civic area for its objective, and aims at a symmetrical development from centre to circumference ; it implies the exercise of foresight, so that by looking ahead vast expenditures may be avoided ; it contemplates and provides for the probabilities of town extension in various directions during the next twenty or fifty years.

The biggest project of this kind is the New City plan for the municipality of Paris, authorised by both Houses of the French Parliament, to be executed at a cost of £36,000,000 sterling, and over a period from eighteen to twenty years. A large sum of that money will be used to demolish insanitary dwellings, and to improve existing promenades and open spaces. The central feature of this municipal scheme is the apportionment of £17,200,000 sterling for improvements in the planning of the city. Haussman and his

imperial master, Napoleon III., found a Paris with narrow streets, and added several boulevards and other broad traffic streets, but the scope of the new project is much wider. It will create or lengthen great arteries for traffic on both banks of the Seine. The work of city improvement will not be confined to the centre of Paris, for great developments in the suburbs are projected, though not provided for in the present scheme. The Beauquier Town Extension Act contemplates the proper planning of all new housing areas, and requires within five years from the passing of the Act that each urban district with more than 10,000 inhabitants shall prepare a Town Extension and Improvement Plan. This plan, when finally approved, shall remain in operation for thirty years, and all extensions and improvements in the town must be made in accordance with the plan. When this great project is completed, Paris will be entitled to be regarded as the most beautiful city in the world. Over and against such a splendid scheme, we notice a new city beginning to appear at the naval base Rosyth, as to which the desire of municipal reformers and architects is to see it laid out on artistic and symmetrical

lines to become a Garden City. In the words of Professor Geddes, "to allow this supreme occasion to be lost, and the future city to arise in the ordinary way, as a muddle of a new port, with a huddled industrial and residential town, and of all these with the usual confusion of railway communications, and inadequacy of road and street ones, would be a disaster to the world, and a disgrace to all concerned, not to speak of the deep and dangerous strategic blunder and waste this implies, and educates for."

The British Town Planning Act of 1909 does not go very far, but it will have an educative value and put us, it is to be hoped, on the threshold of some more active endeavours in regard to city improvements and extensions.

To sum up the requirements of still further city building, it is necessary to keep in view the following provisions for present and future development:

1. As the beautiful cities of Germany are due to the foresight of the city authorities in buying land many years in advance, and securing a much larger area of land on the outskirts, the City Council shall have adequate powers of land purchase before it has acquired a building

value, so that increment and surplus values may cease to be a private monopoly, and fall into the municipal exchequer for the common good.

2. The City Council shall prepare a town-planning scheme, so that with the natural development and growth of the town order and system may reign, and the harmonious development of the town as a whole may be promoted.

3. The City Council shall determine the extent of the area to be covered by the plan, and, along with local authorities, invite the services of advisers skilled in architecture to prepare the plan.

4. The City Council shall make a definite limitation of the number of dwellings per acre in residential districts, and shall observe a different treatment as necessary for manufacturing and residential areas.

5. The City Council shall provide parks and open spaces, and carefully preserve all spots of beauty or of historic interest.

6. The City Council shall in laying out a town plan have respect to the arrangement of the different component parts—the centre of the

town to be a square or market-place, with public buildings or municipal offices enclosing it ; from this centre broad tree-planted avenues to be main arteries for traffic, and furnish sites and frontages for shops and business offices, radiating or encircling or curving outwards ; side streets for ordinary traffic, and narrower streets to be made as cheaply as possible for workmen's dwellings ; subordinate centres, with educational, ecclesiastical, and other public buildings, to be grouped in the midst of gardens and open spaces ; factories and workshops to be outside the town, and in the direction of prevailing winds that blow smoke and noxious vapours countrywards.

7. The City Council shall, along with clearance of slums, be prepared to rehouse displaced families in suburban districts at the same rent, and in buildings whose arrangements are according to an approved standard of air and light and space. This arrangement can only be completed by providing cheap and rapid means of transit in the form of trams and trains for the workmen.

8. The City Council shall strive to avoid the erection of tall block dwellings, as being only

another kind of overcrowding, and adopt the English plan of cottage homes placed in their own gardens.

9. The City Council shall have power to relinquish existing bylaws of an inelastic kind, as there is nothing absolute in town building, and to amplify other laws that will give some measure of freedom and opportunity for the play of the imaginative powers of local architects.

10. The City Council shall prepare for the citizens' inspection an outline map of the city as it exists at present, showing "the open spaces and the black deserts of house-covered land," along with a town plan for its improvement and beautification ; and shall encourage the lieges to recover, as far as possible, the ideals of cities by an examination of cities at their best.

With the emphasis laid upon the last sentence, we close our study of city building, past, present, and future. Awakening will come to any one who ponders what Raymond Unwin says in his "Town Planning in Practice": "In desiring powers for town planning our town communities are seeking to be able to express their needs,

their life, and their aspirations in the outward form of their towns, seeking, as it were, freedom to become the artists of their own cities, portraying on a gigantic canvas the expression of their life." This writer does not ask for a town full of professional artists, but for the dwellers to be inspired with such a full civic life that it will seek expression in beautiful and worthy forms. They will need a long education in civic art. "Rome was not built in a day," nor can the City Beautiful ; but we can discern the future in the present, in town planning movements, in longings to emerge out of the chaos, the ugliness, the malign and degrading environment of modern towns, and in developments of a strong civic conscience.

To be alit with civic ideals, to be alive with civic ardours, to be aglow with civic pride and patriotism—then will citizens learn to recover what is best in the glories of Greek cities, and of the Middle Ages cathedral town, and to use them in expressing the characteristics of their own communal life at its highest and best. And if we are to "build Jerusalem in England's green and pleasant land," something better still than healthy city housing and grand city build-

ing must distinguish the city dwellers—even the building-up of character on the virtuous and civic lines of a true initiative and self-reliance. For this makes the true City of Man, and also the true City of God.

CHAPTER IX

A MODERN MUNICIPALITY

THE overcrowding of our towns and their unhealthy conditions, however purposelessly brought about, have not been the product of a day, but have gone on through nearly the whole of last century, and municipal authorities have hardly begun yet to develop a public health conscience. Notwithstanding a general renaissance of civic interest, the work of reform makes slow progress, and in many of our large towns the present conditions are not only reproduced but allowed to extend. Some of the obvious grievances have been met, and municipalities here and there are strenuously fighting their way towards the light, yet we are still at the empirical stage of dealing with the problems of town development and municipal reconstruction. The pace of reform could well be quickened considerably, and education in civic duties as an

important part of citizens' activities must be insistently urged in order to secure a quicker pace. There is no reason why the process of town betterment should not begin to-morrow ; what is needed for a start is that the citizen conscience shall wake up and say it must be done.

A generation ago, or more, Birmingham led the way in civic enterprises, and its municipal developments gained a widespread reputation. Of late years little has been heard of its doings, and it has fallen into the background, while the Corporation of Glasgow is now the Mecca of the municipal reformer ; its municipal undertakings are more discussed in this country, and are more inquired about all over the world, than those of any other British municipality. Two instructive volumes have within the last few years been written upon Glasgow's civic achievements—one from the City Chambers in 1904, entitled "Handbook on the Municipal Enterprises," and prepared for members attending the Sanitary Congress held in Glasgow that year ; the other entitled "Public Health Administration in Glasgow," by Dr. Russell, formerly its medical officer of health, and pub-

lished in 1905. These two books form an admirable study in the science of city life, and show us what can be done by civic fathers who bring character and ability, administrative zeal, and wise inventiveness into the various departments of civic enterprise placed under their care. It is hardly possible to summarise more briefly the undertakings of this corporation than what has been recorded in the first-mentioned volume of 147 pages, but to try and do so will serve the aim we have in view, and furnish an impressive object-lesson for imitation by every other municipality in the land.

The City of Glasgow dates from the appearance of Kentigern or St. Mungo in the sixth century, and we read of it receiving about the year 1176 from William the Lion the charter to hold a fair every year full eight days, and Glasgow Fair is an institution still in vogue, though now very differently observed. In 1801 the population was given as 83,769 and in 1909 it was returned as 872,021, and if the suburban population of Govan, Partick, and Rutherglen be taken into account, the inhabitants now exceed a million. One has only to let his imagination play round these bare facts of rapid growth

of population in order to understand that if they measure the unprecedented prosperity of the city, they at the same time suggest how many acute problems were being born in the absence of any wise and systematic efforts to regulate healthy and virtuous development.

Two of the greatest works that have tested the ingenuity and enterprise of the Corporation of Glasgow pertain to the deepening and purifying of the River Clyde, the first marking its earliest, and the second its latest, municipal triumph. To make it one of the foremost seaports and shipbuilding towns in the world it had to overcome the natural obstacle of being fifteen miles inland, and only connected with a firth of the sea by a small stream full of shifting sands. In 1759 an Act of Parliament was obtained to cleanse and enlarge the channel from Dumbuck Ford to Broomielaw, and ever since the Clyde Navigation Trust has continued its labours of deepening the waterway to 23 feet at ebb-tide and extending harbour accommodation. Lord Kelvin told the Institution of Electrical Engineers that he could almost remember wading across the Clyde where recently the largest vessel ever built, the

Lusitania, was launched. That enterprise has been completed at a cost of £8,000,000, and now ocean-steamers of every tonnage sail down the narrow stream past some of the loveliest lochs on their way to every foreign port under the sun. The annual revenue of the Trust in 1901 amounted to £441,000, and now exceeds £500,000.

The next great undertaking was entered upon in 1855 for the purpose of bringing a plentiful supply of water into the city and surrounding districts from Loch Katrine, in Perthshire, a distance of $34\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Glasgow Bridge. A duplicate line of aqueduct has been carried to the service reservoirs at Milngavie, seven miles distant from the city, and by these two aqueducts 110,000,000 gallons per day can be discharged into the reservoirs and conveyed to the city and its suburbs. There are other sources of water supply, but that from Loch Katrine is *facile princeps*, and the capital expended on this magnificent achievement is estimated at £3,079,765. The water of the city, being caught within cloudland, is purity itself. All the filtration which it needs is a fine wire gauze to prevent stray leaves and twigs from getting

into the pipes. At first the domestic rate was 1s. 2d., now it stands at 4d. Upwards of a million people are supplied with water, and the average quantity per day is nearly sixty-one million gallons, the domestic consumpt being thirty-four gallons per day to every person. Glasgow uses more water per head of her population than any town in the kingdom ; only one town is said to get it cheaper, not one gets it better. The capital account of the Water Department has increased from £752,000 in 1857 to £4,157,000 last year. There can be no doubt whatever that the two successful schemes of deepening the river for navigation and bringing Loch Katrine water into every household have laid the foundations of Glasgow's fame as a highly capable municipality, and prepared the way for grappling with other civic difficulties not less herculean and overcoming them.

Its City Improvement Trust, constituted in 1866, arose out of a desire on the part of the Corporation to take down buildings in various portions of the city that were so densely inhabited as to be highly injurious to the moral and physical welfare of the inhabitants, to widen

thoroughfares that were narrow and circuitous, and to reconstruct these parts of the city in such a way as to provide good houses for the labouring classes who might be displaced by such changes. The congested areas lay in what was known as "Old Glasgow," including High Street, Gallowgate, Trongate, Saltmarket, and Gorbals. Soon after parliamentary powers were granted. The Corporation, as trustees, borrowed £1,250,000 for carrying out the purposes of the Improvements Act, and defrayed expenses by levying an assessment of sixpence in the pound for the first five years and threepence for other ten years. About ninety acres of the scheduled lands were purchased, and four miles of streets, with their closes and wynds, slums and rookeries, were swept out of existence, and new and wider streets were put in their place, with the addition of open spaces and public squares. It was expected that the cleared areas, as well as other lands acquired by the trustees, would be taken up by private enterprise, and this expectation was largely being realised, till a commercial crisis in 1878, culminating in the failure of the City of Glasgow Bank, brought about a complete collapse in the property

market, and threatened ruin to the operations of the trust. Many of the citizens who viewed with disfavour so large an undertaking, and grudged a sixpenny rate, raised the cry of municipal bankruptcy, but the commanding men of the Corporation did not quail ; they resolved to borrow another quarter of a million, which they obtained by the Improvements Amendment Act of 1880, and with it they proceeded to build tenements on their own streets. Before this period seven model lodging-houses had been erected and equipped by the Trust in place of those insanitary and vice-breeding lodging-houses which had been pulled down, and they still continue to be a healthy and decent resort for two or three thousand persons nightly. In addition to this venture the trustees took up the new policy of erecting tenements of shops and houses on their vacant ground, and are at present owners of 200 shops and 1,362 dwelling-houses. The result is that practically the whole of the areas scheduled under the Act of 1866 and the surplus lands taken over by the trustees from the Police Commissioners in 1894 have now been covered with buildings of a substantial and modern character.

A municipal improvement of such magnitude involved an immense expenditure, and the total outlay, including the re-erection of a university on Gilmore Hill, reached nearly £3,000,000. The full sum of assessment, received from the ratepayers from first to last, is stated at £568,386, and for this they have obtained the Alexandra Park, of 104 acres, in the east end of the city, 98,929 square yards of ground in the formation of new streets and the improvement of twenty-six existing streets, besides sanitary and social amenities that have cost more than £100,000. The maximum rate of sixpence in the pound was only levied for one year ; it was gradually lowered till it was $\frac{1}{4}$ d. for the year 1895-6, and since then it has been wiped out. A large part of this property is now among the free assets of the city, amounting to £600,000, and its unearned increment not only secures the extinction of the assessment, but likewise provides a sinking fund which, by accumulation, may be sufficient to pay off in twenty years the financial obligations then due by the trustees.

All these things show the wisdom and strength and indomitable purpose of the men who composed the Corporation of Glasgow, and carried

through the undertaking of this City Improvement Trust to such a successful finish ; they have set an example to the representatives of other great centres that should stimulate them to like civic achievements.

A fourth department of civic government, in which Glasgow holds a front place, is its perfect service of sanitary inspection. It has been the good fortune of this Corporation to be served by two of the most eminent sanitarians of their time, by Sir W. Gairdner, its first medical officer of health, from 1863 to 1872, and by Dr. W. B. Russell, its second medical officer, from 1872 to 1898. Through the initiative of the former the Corporation took up the City Improvement scheme, and in the earlier years of the latter's official career were prosecuted those investigations and experiments in hygienic conditions which contain an absolutely unique disclosure as to the processes and results of displacing large masses of the poor population. Dr. Gairdner, speaking of his successor's work, mentions how it drove home to the public mind the truth of the conclusion that "gross sanitary neglect leads inevitably to the multiplication of a class which is not only helpless but

progressively in a state of degradation, but has in itself no power of redemption," and "becomes a truly *parasitic* class, living upon the class above it, in such hovels as are provided for it, absolutely precluded from every kind of spontaneous improvement, and therefore bound to become worse and worse with each generation." The conclusions of Dr. Russell, recorded in a memorial volume of his writings, already mentioned, emphasise the needed gospel that the best physical are the best moral circumstances, and therefore it is necessary to create such an environment as will ensure to every man, woman, and child in the city a clean, bright, and useful life. Guided by such ideals, and aglow with the spirit of reform, he has written a series of picturesque papers on "Life in One Room," "Uninhabitable Houses," "The Children of the City," "Sanitation and Social Economics," and several others, which might be utilised by social unions in courses of lectures, or introduced more or less into the teaching of elementary schools.

Under such able sanitarians the Health Committee of the Corporation took in hand some of the most complex administrative problems, and

brought the solution of them to a successful issue. In the erection of hospitals and the recent institution of a bacteriological laboratory all cases of infectious disease are isolated and treated separately, while the city is divided into seven districts for nuisance, workshop, and drain-testing inspection work, with a district supervisor for each, and several assistants under him. Each assistant nuisance inspector has one of the twenty-five municipal wards assigned to him. Six inspectors are employed nightly all the year round to keep down overcrowding, and they work in pairs to corroborate each other in cases of prosecution. The half has not been told of the wonderful things done in this sanitary department. We must close our account of it with Dr. Russell's description of the "ticketed houses." There are about 19,135 small houses in the city with tickets on the doors specifying the cubic contents, the number of the door in the staircase, and the number of inmates allowed. Lately the amount of cubic space has been raised to 2,600 feet. "The Glasgow Police Act confers the power to regulate the occupation of houses of not more than three rooms, and not exceeding a capacity of 2,000

cubic feet. Tinplate tickets are fixed to the doors, stating the cubic contents and the proportionate inmates allowed at the rate of 300 feet per adult, or two children under eight. These are called 'ticketed houses,' and are all one or two apartment houses. A system of night inspection is constantly maintained, and results in prosecution for overcrowding when the legal number is exceeded." Such a systematic inspection of these small houses has been the means of banishing typhus fever and promoting the health of these overcrowded areas.

Wonderful things have been wrought by the Corporation in its management of the tramway-cars. From 1872 to 1894 the system was in the hands of a private company, but at the latter date it began to be operated as a municipal undertaking, and at once a beneficial series of changes was initiated. The employees of the private company had to work from fourteen to sixteen hours a day. When the city took over the property the hours of the employees were reduced from sixteen to ten; the fares were considerably reduced, halfpenny fares being instituted for half-mile stages, a fare of fourpence conveying the passenger a

distance of nine miles. The length of the line, as measured by single track, extends to nearly 160 miles, embracing Dalmuir, on the north banks of the river, and Paisley and Giffnock, on the south bank. Of this length of tramway 62 per cent. is within and 38 per cent. without the municipal boundaries. In 1898 horse traction began to be superseded by an overhead system of electric traction ; in 1901 the electric system was completed, and early the following year the last horse-car disappeared. The power-station at Pinkston is one of the wonders of the city, and is counted to be one of the largest traction stations in Europe. During the year 1904 the number of passengers carried was about 190 millions. In the first year of public ownership the new plant cost £394,000, yet the city derived a profit of £29,000. The income for 1903 amounted to £656,000, the expenditure to £304,000. The gross revenue for 1906 is £825,684, and the expenditure £616,155. The net balance, after deducting interest, sinking fund, and common good payments, &c., is £56,418. For year ending May, 1910, the receipts were £896,720 and the expenses £502,911. The Lord Provost said that out of

this fund the gift of free water might now be the possession of every inhabitant. There is a sinking fund in reduction of debt, which amounts to nearly £430,000. In the Electricity Department of the Corporation for the year ending May 31, 1906, the gross revenue amounted to £195,841 and the working expenses to £91,416, leaving a balance of £104,425.

A notice of one more department must conclude our observations on the municipal enterprises of the Corporation of Glasgow. As it began this notable civic career by an operation for deepening its river, so has it crowned its labours by a splendid scheme nearing completion for purifying the river. Twenty years or more, when taking a summer tour in the Island of Skye, we had the companionship of the city engineer of the Clyde, and remember a conversation we had on the intolerable nuisance of the river's pollution, which then made it a stygian stream of insalubrity, not only for the fifteen miles of its course, but likewise along the upper reaches of the Firth and down to the neighbouring Gareloch and Loch Long. Asking the city

engineer if he or any of the City Fathers had thought of any plan to do away with such a nuisance, he could only shake his head and reply: "We have dreams of the possibility of a pure river, but it baffles the ingenuity of man to strike out a practicable scheme to improve the state of matters." Twenty years ago a scheme for the purification of the river, the Glasgow Main Drainage Scheme, was inaugurated, by means of which at three separate works the sewage of Glasgow and adjacent districts is collected and treated in such a manner, chemically and otherwise, that it can be discharged again into the tidal stream with every element of objection as nearly eliminated as could be desired. The method of treatment is chemical precipitation by means of under-surface continuous flow, and the drainage area extends fifteen miles along both sides of the River Clyde, and covers superficially about thirty-nine square miles. At the Dalmarnock works the daily volume of sewage purification approaches twenty million gallons; at Dalmuir, nine miles from the city, a much larger volume is treated, amounting nearly to fifty million gallons; at Shieldhall the first sod of ground

was cut by the Lord Provost in June, 1906 ; this third and final section of the Main Drainage Scheme was completed in May, 1910. When these operations are in full swing, they will keep about 250,000 tons of solid material out of the river every year, and restore the Clyde almost to a state of pristine purity. It only needs that every riparian town on the upper and lower reaches of the river follow Glasgow's example and cease to send down their abominations—and not a few of those local authorities have intimated their desire for such a desirable end ; it only needs the co-operation of adjacent districts to make the Clyde a comparatively pure stream, and to let the citizens of Glasgow see again from Jamaica Bridge the salmon disporting in its sweet waters. This undertaking, next to that of the London County Council, is the largest in the world, and has been carried out at a cost of two and a quarter million pounds. In all these great efforts, and especially in this last, to transform Glasgow into a garden city, many far-seeing men gave ungrudging service, and when the day shall come for narrating in full the history of these purification schemes the name of Dr. John Ure, as early as 1859 called

the "Chairman of Health," and afterwards Lord Provost, 1880-3, will deserve to have a place of pre-eminence. No citizen laboured more than he, or with such modesty through long years, to make the environment of Glasgow clean, and sweet, and wholesome. Like his great coadjutor Dr. Russell, he could say Amen to what the latter says in his charming essay on "Public Health and Social Problems": "I see nothing in the nature of things to prevent towns being made as healthy as the country. I am certain it can only be done by what Charles Kingsley called 'a complete interpenetration of city and country.' "

Space forbids us to set forth in many other departments of municipal enterprise how Glasgow Corporation forges ahead and points the way. Time fails us to relate what it has accomplished in its Parks Department, improving parks that have been gifted or adding others, so as to secure healthful perambulation, recreation, and amenity to the citizens. Its ownership of public utilities, such as gas, electric lighting, and the tram-car services, has been the great distinguishing feature of its developments during the last thirty years, and has been

the subject of more animated discussion in this and other civilised communities than aught else in any other British municipality. Without doubt experiments in this form of public property carried through by the Corporation of Glasgow have proved an object-lesson of great importance, and encourage other civic authorities in this country and America to advance in the same direction. The surpluses of each year in the municipal balance-sheet are invested in real estate in the name of a fund called the "Common Good," and they give an income to the city for 1909 of £139,322, which is used again in keeping down taxation, and in promoting the sanitary, social, and intellectual conveniences of city life. An Australian student of civics writes that "the whole municipal business of Glasgow, including water and sewage taxes, is covered for 1s. 7d. in the pound on properties under £10 yearly value and for 2s. 3d. in the pound on properties over that appraisalment." He adds that in Melbourne the same rates are 4s. in the pound, or about twice the rate of Glasgow. This is corroborated by what goes on in the cities of Prussia and Saxony that are buying up the land for their future

development. Already there many towns derive their municipal rate out of municipal rent: as many as five hundred local authorities levy no rates because of their possession and development of the surrounding land; and if such increments of profit not only remove the burden of taxation, but accompany the free expansion of towns as well, it would be the height of folly to let them go to fill the pockets of private persons. In like manner if public management can capture such revenues for the good of the people, as against private enterprise, it is incredible folly to allow these revenues to be absorbed by private companies. Promoters of companies owning public utilities are much disturbed by the object-lesson which the Corporation of Glasgow presents to the eyes of the world. It is well known that the control of public utilities and the exploitation of franchises to obtain them are responsible for two-thirds of the corruption which characterises American municipalities; but the part Glasgow has played in American discussions of the movement could not be better indicated than by the visit of fifteen gentlemen sent a year or two ago by the National Civic Federation of the United

States to inquire into the question of the municipal ownership of electricity, tramway, and gas undertakings. This deputation included strong municipalists and strong anti-municipalists, yet they were all inspired by an honest devotion to the best civic ideals, by an earnest desire to find out in the Scottish city what would help the great communities on the other side of the Atlantic ; and they were all of one mind, that in no place could they get better inspiration than they had derived from witnessing the civic achievements of Glasgow Corporation. It shows a more excellent way of developing modern city life to all the other municipalities of the land, and they could render no worthier service to the civic areas under their care than by going and doing likewise.

The Glasgow Corporation illustrates another excellent lesson in the elevation and enrichment of city life by intercepting those values which the community creates, and spending them so as to provide a healthy and attractive background to the community's life. "The true line of progress," says Professor Smart, of Glasgow University, "is that this background should be common property, that the community

should be continually adding, as it were, to the free gifts of Nature." It is the presence of such bits of Nature in and around many of the towns of Germany which makes residence in them, as we have so often proved, a source of the greatest charm and satisfaction. Such a physical environment is at once healthful, educative, and refining ; it makes the house of life into the home of man. By a wise expenditure of public wealth the Model Municipality has done much to enrich and brighten the lives of its citizens, and points the way to other public bodies in setting about measures to secure for nothing a rich and elevating background of citizen life.

Another mark of honour Glasgow may be proud of is the lead given to the country with reference to the taxation of land values, now an accomplished fact as a subject of national revenue. We do not allude to the fact of Adam Smith having been a professor in its university, and having affirmed the justice and expediency of this tax, as he has done in "The Wealth of Nations." There he says that "ground-rents are a still more proper subject for taxation than the rent of houses. They are a species

of revenue which the owner in many cases enjoys without any care or attention of his own. They are therefore a species of revenue which can best bear to have a peculiar tax imposed upon them." We quote this witness, but the special distinction due to Glasgow is that a band of its citizens continued, year in and year out, for nearly thirty years advocating the principles of land taxation till most of the great municipalities in England, Wales, and Scotland have accepted as plain teaching the doctrine that the value of land is not the result of the labour and intelligence and expenditure of the owner, but is the product of the labour, intelligence, and expenditure of others, flowing into the owner, without exertion on his part. In Germany this Increment Tax, originating in Frankfort, has spread to all the German cities, which scoop in a proportion of this unearned wealth for public purposes. The Increment Tax of this country assures all past increments to their present possessors up to April, 1909, but the German municipalities go back to seize increments of more than twenty years ago. Part of these increases of value, due to the labour of the community, will require to be divided between the

State and the municipality, so as to aid at once local and imperial causes. In what proportion this division is to be made will be a matter of important inquiry. The Increment Tax has in it great potency of development, and will in course of time fructify to substantial and swelling surpluses. If this method of taxation had been adopted a hundred years ago in such a municipality as Glasgow, how greatly its resources for improving the city would have been increased ! Altogether the landlords of Glasgow appropriate every year about two million pounds in the shape of ground-rent, without paying a single penny of local taxation. The municipal buildings in George Square yielded to the individual who owned the land on which they are erected the handsome sum of £175,000. His immediate predecessor bought the site from the City Fathers a hundred years ago for 2s. 8d. per square yard, and when the City Fathers wanted it again for the citizens' use they had to pay at the cost of £35 per square yard. Yet neither he nor his ancestors created that value or any part of it ; on the abstract ground of justice it belonged to the community, whose industry and progress created the value.

There lies before the municipality another great enterprise, which must be taken up sooner or later, the aim of which is to relieve the terrible evils of overcrowding, and loosen out the population to some degree of thinness per acre compatible with a healthy existence. The municipal boundaries of Glasgow include 12,975 acres, a few hundred more than the area of Birmingham, but about equal to the acreage on which the town of Sheffield stands, with only about a third of the population.

It is for such towns as London, Birmingham, Liverpool, and Glasgow that the Housing and Town Planning Act of 1909 was passed, and the Act was approved of by all parties in the State. The evils of overcrowding in these large cities are familiar to the public, such as one-roomed tenement houses piled up four or five stories above one another, and the high death-rate of infants in densely inhabited districts, compared with opener parts of the city. Nothing can equal the chaos which has for years existed in newly-developed areas on the borders of London; things are as bad as may be in the provinces with regard to town planning, and this goes on year after year. Unfortunately,

the new Act does not carry the hope of improvement very far, for it does not empower local authorities to deal with existing built-on areas, or to lay down a skeleton plan for remodelling the district within their bounds. It is satisfactory, however, in establishing the principle that the use of land for building purposes shall be subject to control for the good of the public, as well as for the profit of the owner. Nothing would be of greater interest than the adoption of a town-planning scheme on the part of our model municipality, and the laying of a foundation for the same by the accumulation of facts bearing on local conditions of every kind. Many preliminary steps require to be taken in the prospect of such an undertaking, and the first which the City Council might take should be the appointment of a committee of its number to spend a year or two in study of the whole question before adopting any plan. And whatever plan is chosen, it should be on bold lines, and with a far-sighted prescience. A second step should be that of calling in experts to study plans of city-building. They might also be sent across the North Sea to investigate achievements of this kind in Germany, where town planning

has become a science, as much so as ship-building amongst ourselves. There they would find in large commercial cities like Düsseldorf, Cologne, and Frankfort maps of city plans in the City Chambers, showing streets, parks, and building sites laid out into the open country. The owner or builder must proceed in harmony with the city's plan. Could not the same orderly development of the municipality be carried out here? The greater Glasgow of the future, which will sooner or later absorb the adjoining burghs, extending from Clydebank on the west to Shettleston on the east, from Bishopbriggs in the north to Cathcart and Pollokshaws on the south, could thus be laid out into streets, parks, open spaces, and sites for public buildings ; a plan of the same, extending far out in advance of the city's growth, might be prepared and seen in our municipal chambers.

Our experts will learn again from German cities what a potent influence land has upon the life of the community. It shapes and dominates everything in the city—its structure, streets, and housing, and indirectly the homes, the morals, and physical conditions of the people. And German municipalities control the

land, by ownership, taxation, and regulation. They are great landlords—Düsseldorf, for example, with 300,000 inhabitants, controlling 29,000 acres. They subordinate property to humanity, prevent individuals from disfiguring the city, exalt the beautiful above the ugly, and subject business itself to the sovereignty of social wellbeing ; at the same time developing trade, as in the case of Düsseldorf, which has increased its trade 300 per cent. in ten years' time. These municipalities finance all such improvements and reimburse themselves by intercepting the profits of the landowner and the land speculator ; by effecting great economies in construction, by re-selling land which they do not require, and by increasing the profits of business a hundredfold.

When will our model municipality lay such lessons to heart, dream its dreams of civic improvement, and wake up to realise what the city ought to be—a great sanatorium which adds to all its amenities of organised life the air and sunshine, the freedom and health, the sweetness and fragrance of the countryside?

At recent International Housing Congresses the attention of city designers has been con-

centrated on the question of cottage or block dwellings. In Germany and other continental towns, as also in Scotland, the tenement block prevails ; in England the cottage holds the field. It is a common idea that the cottage, however ideal, is impossible for towns, where land prices are supposed to require the economical block dwelling, which combines maximum of space with minimum of frontage. In the Düsseldorf Congress, 1903, the cottage was considerably at a discount, but at the Vienna International Congress of 1910 the block system had come to be weighed in the balance and found wanting. It was shown that in London, the greatest city in the world, the population can be housed in cottages, and therefore it can be done in Vienna or Berlin. Battersea is a humble place beside Berlin, but its population of under 200,000 can boast of more individual houses than Berlin with over two millions, lodged for the most part in towering tenements. So completely have continental town planners been brought round to favour the cottage system that at Ulm a beginning has been made of garden villages for its workmen, and at Cologne, Düsseldorf, and elsewhere the need of these is now recog-

nised. The result of these conferences has been summed up in the dictum, "Germany for town planning ; England for the cottage." At the inauguration of Romford Garden Suburb Mr. John Burns put the merits of the cottage plan with his usual pith and directness when he said: "I am for the house against the flat, the home against the barrack, and I am for peace to the cottage and death to the institution."

Glasgow is a city made up of tenement dwellings. It has overflowed its boundaries five miles east to Cambuslang and nine miles west to Dalmuir. There is little deviation from this straight, monotonous line of fourteen miles of street, fronted on either side with tall tenements of three or four stories. The line is broken somewhat as it enters and passes from the fine open square of Rutherglen. Beyond that a long vacant area extends down to the river, which has been compared to a gehenna—it has been so blasted and rendered ghastly by public works. After extending through the city thoroughfares, it runs into Partick and Whiteinch ; on leaving the latter place it is improved by an extension of semi-detached cottages, and continues with more or less completeness to its terminus at

Dalmuir. The city has thus grown from its centre at haphazard, pursuing lines dictated by natural physical features, or by manufacturing districts, or by the caprice of landlords. The monotony of these miles of tenement buildings is not relieved by the existence of crescents or squares, or of open spaces for recreation-grounds and retired walks. Hedges and little clumps of woodland still break the long-drawn-out monotony, but will soon disappear before tenement blocks. The direction and width of this monotonous building-line prevent the inflow of sunshine, and give free scope to bitter east winds. Such lack of forethought and arrangement forms a striking contrast to the Garden Suburb movement, which adopts the cottage system, and spreads out the houses over areas where ample space and sunshine and pleasant surroundings are to be found. The time has come to stay such haphazard extensions in the suburbs. To be the home of worthy citizens the city must be even more than healthy; it must also satisfy the longing for beauty, and therefore its streets should be distinguished by character, dignity, and grace. It may not be too late to redeem

the city expansion now spoken of from its dulness and monotony by planting cottages and detached houses on areas still vacant along the line.

It is much to be desired that a "model municipality," like Glasgow, should take up the tasks of a new era in the development of its suburbs, and conform them more to the model of the village than of the town. Its career of city improvements in the past has given it a name in all civilised lands. The tradition of the Elders calls it to put forth new efforts in the direction of civic reconstructions. The time may not be yet for attaining all that could be desired, but with the adoption of the Town Planning Act and the union of adjacent authorities into one grand municipality Glasgow may once more recover its proud position of being the second city of the Empire.

CHAPTER X

FREEDOM AND LAND TENURE

BEHIND the terrible evils of overcrowding and insanitary areas on the one hand, and every scheme of civic reconstruction and Garden City expansion on the other, lies the question of the land, the evil of land monopoly, the oppression of landlordism. We have allowed our peasants to be expropriated. For want of outlook the landless labourer has rapidly drifted away into the towns, crowding the labour market and aggravating the trouble of unemployment. Or land monopoly has scattered a robust population to the ends of the earth. It has been the main, almost the exclusive, barrier to a natural and healthy development of our towns ; as it has been said, " streets which might have been filled with real houses, affording ample breathing space to restore the energies of our labouring population in

all ranks of life, have been crushed into airless blocks of unsightly buildings, which are the eyesore of our great cities and a danger to civilisation." To this system of land tenure must be attributed the worst conditions of city life. Judged by its working out in slums and congested areas, it stands condemned as the worst of any available for comparison among continental nations. The crowding of masses of building on small areas to which it leads results in the exclusion of sunlight and air and everything connected with country life. With the tide of democratic tendencies at the flood, the conscience of the nation is smitten with a sense of shame in view of squalid city areas that present scenes viler than can be found throughout the mass of unbroken heathenism. Nor is the accusing voice less strident at the sight of the decay that is manifest in every countryside. Good citizenship, dreaming dreams once more of freedom, equality, and brotherhood, wakes up to the vision of an economically free peasantry, and begins to take hold of that problem with a verve and determination which cannot be mistaken. And the requirements of the situation need only to be faced to under-

stand its gravity. A century ago the land we reside in was covered with a sturdy, prosperous, and independent population, but the method of "laying field to field," of demolishing cottages, and turning small farmhouses into heaps of ruin has swept a fine peasantry off the land. In half a century the rural community has been halved. In 1851 it was nearly two millions ; to-day it is under one.

The land is starving for want of people, and the people are starving for want of land. It is the wrong of this situation to which every other of our problems is due more or less, from the miseries of the towns to the chronic crises and bewilderments of unemployment. By this state of things the lot of the agricultural worker has been made intolerably monotonous and dull. Cobden in his day declared his condition to have no parallel on the face of the earth. The plight of the countryside has been left unheeded too long ; it has been the worst and the least cared for of all our ills. But the winter of our discontent seems to be thawing on every hand, and another spirit manifests itself in many different directions ; if we may be guided by the utterances of live statesmanship,

and other signs, it is warrantable to expect that competent government is preparing to take a long stride forward in land reform. In the interests alike of town and country, the rural problem ought to be faced in a broad and statesmanlike spirit, with a fearless resolution to go to the root of this problem, to turn on it the full force of the nation's intellect and will, enlightened by definite ideals, and concentrated on workable methods of reform. There is no need to consider the large and difficult questions of the nationalisation of the land, or of a peasant proprietorship, though it would be well to see the intellect of the nation tackling such questions. To attack the Land Question *en bloc* is a great undertaking, but there are many sides of it which can be dealt with, and co-operators may approach it from a side all their own, bringing helpful solution by a further extension of the principle which has made their own movement successful. Promising commencements have been made in rural co-operation, but it is still the day of small things, very much as it was in the time of the Rochdale pioneers. If the land is not to pass into twitch and thistle, with the coming

of a vast silence upon the deserted villages, the principle of co-operation must play a great *rôle* in the resuscitation of country life. The elements of this beneficent reform have been outlined by experiments in other countries, by schemes for re-peopling the villages, and by recent acts of legislation. In the passing of Allotments and Small Holdings Acts a policy has been initiated to place people as well as to keep the rural population on the land, and thus largely increase the number of small husbandmen. Wherever small holdings have been offered there is commonly quite a demand for them, and better prices are obtained for them proportionately than for larger farms. Such holdings give farm workers at least the chance to become farmers in their turn, and save them from that most dismal of outlooks—the prospect of two out of every five having to end their days in the poorhouse. It is proposed by the Land Law Reform Association that rural district councils should have, for acquiring lands, the compulsory powers granted to parish councils by the Allotments Act of 1894, and be allowed to raise loans for the purpose of acquiring land within a period of

a hundred years for repayment. The same powers should be conferred on municipalities to acquire land round the communities they control. To prove how we are on the verge of a revolution in the method of regarding the landed interest, we have only to mention that a Committee of the House of Commons on the Scotch Local Government Bill voted by a majority in favour of allowing local authorities to advance money for allotments, and to remember the Irish precedent now set up, with its grant of a hundred millions sterling of public money. The present Government, fully alive to the danger of rural depopulation in all parts of the United Kingdom, propose a measure—the Small Holdings (Scotland) Bill—to remove these dangers as far as possible, and have in view a corresponding measure for England. The purpose of the Bill seeks to remove obstacles in the way of competent applicants who desire an enlargement of their small holdings, and to provide for the admission of leaseholders in Scotland on payment of a rent of £50 and under, to have a fair rent fixed and security of tenure, no displacement of the holder occurring except for non-payment of

rent. One of the main objects of the Bill contemplates the creation of small holdings by agreement in the first place, with a due regard to the various interests concerned, and where agreement is not found to be possible by compulsory order. For this purpose a Land Commission will be set up in place of the Crofters' Commission and the Congested Districts Board. An interesting feature of the situation is that the proposed legislation does not point to land purchase, compulsory or otherwise, because the Highland crofter does not wish to become sole owner of his croft, and is content to pay rent in perpetuity and have fixity of tenure guaranteed by a Land Court. It may seem as if such a measure went no farther than the first stage of Land Reform in Ireland forty years ago, when it was thought that the Irish tenant-farmer needed nothing but fixity of tenure and fair rent. That concession did not solve the problem. Another concession has been granted at a vast price—that of turning the tenant-farmer into a landlord by a provision which practically buys out all existing landlords in Ireland. Whether so liberal a measure will solve the Irish land problem remains to be seen.

A continental critic of Irish agrarian legislation, Herr Bonn, whose impartiality is as marked as his ability, perceives very great danger in creating a peasant proprietary, dictated rather by political motives than by economic insight, and fears, not only the possibility of repudiation but the seriousness of turning into proprietors men who have neither the capacity nor the resources that would enable them to utilise their holdings for any purpose but bare subsistence. Such a low standard of living is an obstacle to progress, as observers note among the peasantry in France, and they deprecate in Ireland or the United Kingdom a class that will consent to sink to the economic level of the French peasant. According to Herr Bonn, Ireland needs above all things co-operation in agriculture. Recent allotment and small holding legislation, on which the measure of the present Government is founded, and which it proposes still further to extend, makes provision for leasing but not for purchasing land. If one political party has pledged the credit of the State to the amount of £100,000,000 for the creation of small holdings in Ireland, the other might well double that amount for the same purpose in Scotland and England.

All classes of the nation and all parties in the State are becoming alive to the discovery that the conditions under which land is now owned and managed are unsatisfactory, that a more rational system of tenure lies at the very root of national wellbeing, and that measures are necessary to give the people larger freedom of access to the soil. The party of landlords has made this discovery too, and has proposed to solve the rural problem of Great Britain on the same lines as they have adopted in the settlement of the Irish Land Question, in order to create as large a number as possible of peasant proprietors, and to secure the policy which makes every man his own landlord. As £200,000,000 have been advanced by the State to make peasant owners in Ireland, it is proposed to do the same for small holders in Great Britain by State advances of public money for land purchase, by the institution of land banks, by different kinds of peasant co-operation ; it is hoped that several hundred thousands of peasant owners may be placed on the land and enabled to provide themselves with stock, manures, seeds, &c. ; and thus a new race of sturdy yeomen will be spread over the land to

rival the prosperous small holders in Denmark, France, and Belgium. According to this scheme the State has to buy the land, furnish buildings, and provide other supports to make it successful. But if the excessive prices which have hitherto been paid for land devoted to public or industrial purposes are maintained, this peasant proprietary will be doomed to a subsidised insolvency. Where or how is the enormous State fund needed for such a scheme to be found? If the comparatively small Irish scheme is such a burden upon our national finance, a great British scheme would cost seven or eight times more. The State would certainly refuse to pledge itself to such a policy of recreating rural life in Britain. It is true that the State has still vast responsibilities connected with developing the neglected wealth of the land, and must be prepared to pledge its credit, as in Ireland, to the extent of some scores of millions for the purpose of reviving rural life in this country, free from the grip of monopoly.

Who, then, are most likely to use it advantageously for themselves and for the State? What is to be the future system of

land tenure in this country? With the conviction deepening that a revision of land laws in the direction of increasing the number of moderate holdings would solve most of our town problems, many advocate the introduction of a peasant proprietary. Instead of having land concentrated into large estates among a small number of families—710 landholders holding one-quarter of the whole of England—let us have it broken up and parcelled out into a great variety of small holdings, and so let us have the 800,000 landless agricultural labourers admitted once again to their patrimony of the soil. Such is the plan of peasant proprietorship, and many look to it for salvation from the evils of land monopoly. It is a good thing, they tell us, to give men a stake in the soil. Arthur Young said long ago that “the magic of property turns sand into gold,” and we know that the land of a country is never so well “nationalised” as when it is committed to the possession of men whose interest it is to make the most of it. Individual ownership of land is the one great attraction which induces men to clear it from stifling forests, to drain it from swamps, or to extract from it the richest yields.

It is a principle of great importance to give equal and absolute security to every member of the community in the produce of his labour, and peasant proprietorship seems to answer all such requirements ; but still there is good reason to doubt whether such a proposal will settle the land difficulty. If we consult the past, what is the verdict? Bruno Hildebrand says : " The agrarian history of antiquity shows us that all ancient lawgivers endeavoured to secure to every one a certain inheritance, and to make every family participate in the benefit of landed property. Everywhere, however, the proprietors were too independent, and succeeded in centralising and monopolising the possession of the soil, and thus the ancient world was ruined." With the break up of feudal institutions the land was subdivided among a large number of owners, who developed into a sturdy race of yeomen and were for centuries the backbone of the nation. But they, too, have disappeared from the face of the land, and their extinction is due to the action of existing land laws. If they are to be resuscitated, the repetition of a peasant proprietary will hardly bring it about. But the soil of France is owned by peasant proprietors,

and they are said to be possessed of exceptional prosperity. Recent statistics, however, and a closer observation of things would show that France is not the paradise of peasant proprietors so often imagined. Official documents, according to well-known writers, indicate that not more than one-tenth of the soil of France is owned by peasant proprietors. Leroy-Beaulieu confesses that 50.9 per cent. of the French territory is worked by tenants, and others tell us that the territory owned by great landlords has rapidly increased since 1889. Rothschild alone owns 200,000 acres. Mortgages to the amount of 20,000 million francs lay on the French soil in 1876, and four-fifths of this fell upon the small proprietors. The mortgages have risen from 8,854 millions in 1820 to 16,000 millions in 1868; and in 1882 the credit foncier increased his mortgage loans by adding 400 millions to his bonds. Eight million peasants own not more than 5 per cent. of the whole territory, or an acre each, many of these living in houses without a single window, the door being the only opening of the house. The accounts given of French peasant life by competent observers, from Balzac to Zola, represent

these small proprietors, cultivating their two or three acres all the week, as mean, narrow-minded, and dismal slaves of the sod. Such is what many hold up to our admiration as the fortunate peasant proprietor.

In the new finance of the 1909 Budget we have the beginning and basis of a great national, democratic, and constructive policy for releasing the land from the clutch of monopoly and opening the way for the small holder. The valuation of the land takes it out of private hands and places it in public keeping, and will help to buy it for the price at which it is rated and taxed. It will be impossible for landowners to sell to public bodies for hundreds or thousands land rated at only tens of pounds. The increment duties, or taxation of land values, will secure to the public purse accruing increase in site values due to the industry of the public and the order and government maintained at the "ratepayers'" expense. These increment duties will force into the market land that is held up and lower its price. The Development Bill aims at forestry, the reclamation of waste lands, the improvement of rural transport, the encouragement of economic education in agricul-

ture, and will thus bring a variety of remunerative employment to workmen and add to the real wealth of the nation. On the basis of these economic adjustments, municipalities will be enabled to buy such land as is necessary to the development of their towns, and the State could also buy up land needed for the re-creating of rural life in Britain.

Ownership, then, or something like it, in security and freedom to work the land to the greatest profit, is indispensable before the principle of co-operation can be brought into full play. As Cobden saw in his day, not trade only, but the land as well, needs to be made free. It is necessary to remove the dead hand of monopoly. Till freedom to acquire and use land has been established, till money and skill can be employed without obstruction or the risk of unjust toll, the aids of co-operation to promote a wide range of profitable investment would be sucked into the pocket of the idle, non-producing landlord. The full possibilities of such a policy may require a generation to work out, but the machinery might be created in a single session by a Government anxious to re-people the land. It would be real business and the noblest

patriotism to use State funds as liberally and wisely in Great Britain as in Denmark for advancing the interests of agriculture on such lines, and thus prepare the way for those co-operative methods which have made the Danish kingdom so prosperous.

Wonderful things have been done there by small holders, who work four-sixths of the land. How have the Danes succeeded in making butter that commands the highest price, and in driving out all other competitors from our markets? They have been able to achieve this result by a co-operative movement in dairy produce. Before 1882 they had only two or three dairies of the kind ; in 1903 they had 1,047 dairies. In 1885 the total exports of butter amounted to 29 million pounds ; in 1901 they rose to 150 millions. How has it all come to pass? The dairy, fitted up with the latest machinery, belongs to a co-operative society, of which the farmers in all the countryside are members, and each member holds a number of shares, generally £1 share for every cow he owns. Members elect a directorate who overlook the dairy and are in touch with the expert dairy-man and his assistants. Carts sent out from

the dairy call every morning at the farms for the milk, which is placed ready at every farm door. It is conveyed without delay to the dairy, and every man's milk is at once weighed and noted down. It is heated in a large tank so as to be fitted for the centrifugal process of separating the cream ; next the separated cream is "pasteurised," then run over coolers into vats, where it is "started" for butter-making. Early next morning it is churned, and by the afternoon the butter is made, packed, and sent away for export. The separated milk, along with the butter-milk, is weighed and returned to members according to the amount they have sent in ; and this is excellent feeding for live stock, and helps to give Denmark a flourishing position in the export of bacon produce.

Each member is paid in proportion to the quantity of milk he sends. Payment is made periodically and frequently, and at the end of the year 5 per cent. is allowed on each share, along with a regulated proportion of the surplus profits.

The advantages of such co-operative dairying are obvious, and do not need to be pointed out. It has been adopted by several continental

countries, by New Zealand and Ireland, and it points the way of salvation to agriculture among ourselves. Instead of spending £24,000,000 on imported dairy produce, eggs, and fruit, would it not be more businesslike to turn the 29 millions of uncultivated acres at home to the supply of these necessities of life? Instead of trying to ship five thousand of our unemployed but willing workmen across the seas to the Canadian Dominion, would it not be a wiser and more creditable policy to distribute 500,000 of them over the land at home, and so bring back again some of the glory of the country? There could not be a worse policy than that of advising labourers to leave the country, the best of whom, to tell the truth, are getting away from it as fast as they can. It is a matter of life and death to us as a nation that the drift of people to the towns should be reversed, and that every effort should be made to attract them to country life.

The benefits of co-operation may be still further directed to this end in the establishment of people's banks, fostered by the credit of the State. To facilitate the growth of small holdings, co-operative banks are essential, and

the history of such banks in other countries affords the greatest encouragement to institute them. They enable a man to borrow on character, and thus have an educative moral value. Most of the loans are comparatively small, not exceeding more than £12. If labourers are to have a career again on the soil, they must start with such advantages ; it would be certain failure to start them on this career by driving them into the grasp of the money-lender as the only method of finding the necessary capital to begin with. To resuscitate village life each villager should have one acre for a home garden, while outside the villages homesteads from one to a hundred acres, as in New Zealand, might be granted to cultivating farmers. Under this regime the artificial monopoly of land would be broken down, the tendency to consolidation checked, and what is known as rack-renting, which has wrought so mischievously in Ireland, would be disallowed. With the right of ownership by the nation vindicated, the interests of occupying cultivators of the soil would be effectively and permanently guaranteed. The State generally proves to be a better landlord than a private owner, and is

likely to grant longer leases and provide surer guarantees to tenants for buildings and improvements. Private possession of the land must be secured for the cultivators of small holdings, if they are to be kept on the land, and to maintain a feeling of independence. Possession, of course, is different from ownership, but with the grant of perpetual leases the tenants might sit secure, feeling their farms to be as good as their own.

If large public ownership of land were properly secured, secondary arrangements would be easily established, and several of the worst anomalies belonging to the present land tenure would at once disappear. The rule of primogeniture and the custom of entail would cease to exist ; the titles to land would be simplified ; rents would be reduced to their proper level ; and transfer of land would be a transaction so easy and cheap that the aid of a lawyer would not be requisite to effect it. As already indicated, the machinery needed to initiate and establish the new system exists, and would be found in a co-operation of local and imperial authorities, and in the institution of Land Courts or offices within limited areas for the registra-

tion of titles to land, transfers, and tax payments. The imperial authority might well come to the help of local bodies with advances of money at a low interest for the purpose of increasing the public landed domain. The Government has at length taxed urban land values, and should it extend this taxation to the country as well as to the town, the fund thus created, and capable of gradual increase, might also be employed for such a purpose ; and in this way our land laws, instead of being subservient to a mere handful of individuals, might be set in order to advance the good of the nation. Upon the lines here suggested an agrarian policy might be strenuously adopted, and without any violent revolution or any confiscation of individual rights the tenure of land could be gradually brought into consonance with the ideas and requirements of the new century.

Since all parties in the State and the highest citizenship of the nation are agreed that something ought to be done on a large scale for the productive use of British land and for the wide revival of country life, there should be no difficulty in carrying out a considerable programme of land reform. All desire to see a new

race of sturdy, freedom-loving, and independent cultivators placed on the soil. The policy of ownership as against that of tenant holding need not stand in the way. Experiments in both systems might be undertaken. Peasant proprietorship is adopted in the Irish scheme of land tenure ; occupying tenancy is mainly desired in Scotland, and no reason exists why England should not adopt the one or the other, or both. There is a certain fascination in owning a piece of land, though Mr. Balfour fears that peasant-proprietorship, however promising on the other side of the Channel, might turn out a " disastrous failure here." The advantage in favour of tenancy, with secure tenure, lies in this, that the tenant may use whatever capital he has upon cultivation, cattle, horses, and implements. It would not, as does the purchase system, tie the occupant to a five-acre plot when he might through his diligence ere long be able to cultivate fifty acres. The one thing necessary for the success of small holders is to obtain land at a reasonable price, and to obtain land that would not be the odds and ends of estates in the possession of landowners, but the best quality of acres that would yield the best returns to diligent cultivation.

Lord Carrington's proposal to introduce "a satisfactory system of co-operative banks specially for the benefit of agriculture" goes straight to the heart of the rural problem, and should meet with the approval of all parties. Land banks, giving credit to genuine small farmers, have been well tested on the Continent and in the Colonies. Germany has 10,000 such institutions, which have proved an unspeakable boon to hundreds of thousands of people, and would prove to be the same to the small holders we want to see established on the land.

To restore conditions of life in the country that can be called in any sense free, hopeful, or humane, the problem of better housing will have to be faced. At present the agricultural labourer is ill-housed, and village habitations are rickety and void of comfort ; but the method of co-operation could be profitably invoked to provide farm buildings and suitable cottages. With money advanced on reasonable terms to be repaid over a term of years, the labourer might secure these premises and be put on an independent footing in a home of his own.

Developments of co-operative trading would command for the small cultivator the best seeds,

the best implements, the best fertilisers, the best feeding of stock, and the wisest economies in general farming operations. At present a lucrative trade in these commodities is carried on by a number of intermediaries, who do not usually lessen prices. In this way organisation might enable the new occupants of the soil to co-operate for the purpose of buying manure and food-cakes, to co-operate for the hire of machinery, and to co-operate for the sale of the articles produced by their industry.

One of the difficulties in the way of the small farmer is getting his produce easily and cheaply to market. He employs a man to sell his stock, a second to sell his milk, and several others to do something else, and so the profit goes into their pockets and is shared by other people. Why should he not combine forces with his neighbours and dispense to a large degree with the services of those who really live at his expense? If co-operation enables the cultivator to provide himself with the materials needed to bring his produce to perfection, it is equally competent to adopt measures by which that produce of the land may be brought to the market. This has been done on the Continent,

in Ireland, and England, and waits to be done in Scotland, where as a country of small holdings a splendid field is found for the operation of this principle. Farmers could combine to obtain low freights from the railway companies, who are quite willing to strike a favourable set of rates, if farmers only agree to bulk their orders together. They could get considerable reductions, as much as 40 or 50 or even 60 per cent., by combining to send their stock, instead of sending individually. The Agricultural Organisation Society of England, which exists to place farming on co-operative lines, has made an agreement with the North-Eastern Railway Company to run a motor-wagon to several villages over ten miles of road, delivering goods at depôts established by the farmers, and collecting goods on the return journey. What is only needed to ensure success for the farmers is to have these depôts in the hands of genuine co-operative societies, that will watch the interests and operations of local societies. In all parts of the country such societies can be formed for the provision of farm requisites and the disposal of farm produce. Some time ago the Scottish Agricultural Organisation

Society, like that of England, was inaugurated in Edinburgh, and was supported in Glasgow by gentlemen of outstanding experience in agriculture. In this co-operative movement the aim is to secure all ameliorating forces for home agriculture, to strengthen our own producers in the markets near at hand, and stop the overflow into the towns by the depopulation of the rural districts. By the increase of small holdings and the application of co-operative methods the opportunity of return to country life would be enhanced ; not only would the rural population be kept on the land, but the townsman would also be allowed on it.

Now, it is a big thing to bring home such a truth as that of re-populating the land, and to say that we are within sight of its consummation. We are on the verge of a revolution, peaceful and constitutional, in the method of regarding the landed interest ; we may see shortly a determined effort made to use the credit of the State, or the nation's overlordship of its own resources, in order to get the people back once more on the land. With the imposition of an adequate land tax, the abolition of primogeniture and entail, and the advance

of a few score millions of the capital everywhere seeking investment, to plant a new peasantry in the shires, the old mode of looking at the landed interest may be as much an anachronism in Great Britain as it is to-day in France. A peaceful and beneficent revolution of this kind, accelerated by the bestowment of still larger powers on local bodies, is greatly to be desired. Will landlords resist the changes involving the sacrifice of their special interests to the grander interest of society? As a class they are not more selfish than any other class, and still they have much of what is known as *noblesse oblige*; but it is to be feared that they will fight hard for their time-honoured titles to monopolise the soil of England; and they have much in their power to postpone the attainment of these ideals in land legislation. The kingdom of righteousness may be delayed; it may be that we shall never see it. But it will come. The Land Question advances steadily to a foremost place among the reform measures waiting to be carried out, and should be treated with an ardent spirit of expectation. It does move like the world, as Galileo said, and will move till the land becomes

again the possession of the people. In an increase of labour applied to the land do we find the key to a solution of most of the social problems of our great towns, the way of access to a fuller amenity in the life of the nation. When the earth is recognised as the Lord's, and the inheritance of all His children, and is held by a tenure that affords its bounty for the welfare of all, the wail of the landless labourer shall change into the song of joy and hope. That will be the Age of Gold. "Then shall the earth yield her increase; and God, even our own God, shall bless us."

CHAPTER XI

EQUALITY AND THE ORGANISATION OF INDUSTRY

CAPITAL and labour need each other and require only co-operation, and not antagonism, to form a prosperous commonwealth. Capitalists, as a class, are great toilers, have a fine sense of honour in business, and bring a strenuous ability into private enterprise ; commercial men are not less scrupulous than men of letters, nor are the rich less virtuous than the poor. Most readily and gladly ought this to be granted by the critic of capitalism, whatever he may have to say about its evils due to unequally distributing the wealth of the nation. There is something wrong, men of moral genius are constrained to admit, something intolerable in the present situation. It is adverse to Christian brotherhood and equality, to peace and law, to the restraint of the strong and the defence of the weak ; it is anti-democratic, anti-social, anti-

ethical, anti-Christian, anti-human. In a democracy like ours the ideals are just the opposite—social, ethical, Christian, humane. It is evident that as the workers are enrolled in citizenship and political rights they will be more and more dissatisfied to remain the thralls of capitalism, the subjects of exploitation, and the victims of want and misery.

We want a system conformable to the simple ethic of the Apostle—obedient to the austere “Thou shalt not” of the commandment which is “holy, just, and good,” forbidding “to take anything that is thine, from a thread even to a shoe-latchet.” Justice is the first demand, not philanthropy. The situation requires a more searching inquiry into Christian justice and a more honest practice of the golden rule. Philanthropy can but deal with symptoms and effects; justice seeks to deal with causes, to amend or end them. Charity is a fine thing, yet it may demoralise by encouraging waifdom; justice is basal, and the more it exists the more does it establish social order. We want a system more conformable to the law of labour, to its rightful and healthy, its honourable and fruitful service, every man “working with his hands

the thing which is good, that he may have." Let him learn to put his whole moral self into the business in hand ; let him not be a drudge, as modern machinery tends to make him, but become again God's freeman and fellow-worker in the labour of his hand. In itself competition is neither good nor evil, but if it be exalted into a principal instrument, with unfettered sway as a natural fighting power, can the system in which it so acts be conducive to the best interests of social evolution, and be preferred to one where competition is controlled or elevated into a principle of rivalry or emulation, such as we see in the young life of a university? The worker should be able to start fair in the race of life, without having his individuality compassed in on every side by hampering monopolies. Under a right organisation of industry there should be a wise and wide distribution of wealth. If the present regime does not distribute the produce of labour on some equitable plan, it ought to be exchanged for one that will secure this end. Any system meriting approval must embody the dictum, "The husbandman that laboureth should be the *first* to partake of the fruits." There should

no longer be a distinction between the Haves and the Have Nots so painfully manifest in pictures of our poverty and wealth, our luxury and want.

We want a system of industry that will provide for the weak, unfortunate, and suffering, or as our Divine ethic puts it, "that he may have to give or *distribute* to him that needeth." A principle of solidarity lies behind these words, the law which makes us members one of another, ready to suffer with or aid each other. Though "the destruction of the poor is their poverty," yet the poor among themselves are said most of all to bear one another's burdens. Many a capitalist, too, makes a noble use of his wealth ; but if he used it to set the present order on lines of a better distribution, he would render a more necessitous service than endowing free libraries or putting in church organs all round. It is right to give alms and doles and as many half-crowns as possible to multitudinous charities, but there are needs on which a higher form of charity might be put forth. In his "Studies in Economics " Professor Smart finely says : " The progress of human society chiefly takes the form of making the world a more

comfortable place for man to live in, and such improvements tend to pass away out of the range of valuation. They become brighter, healthier conditions of our life. In other words, much of our parent wealth exists in the form of a background of the community's life, changes of physical environment that make the house of life into the home of man." To such objects the surplus values of capital ought to be applied, and not allowed to find their way into the pockets of a privileged and irresponsible class of the nation. The great power now possible to the means of production should be employed to create a healthful environment, abolish the slum, and make poverty wellnigh impossible ; it should be used to bring to the whole mass of the people the prospect of advancement on a footing of equality of opportunity, and lift them to those higher planes of life, intellectual, moral, and religious, where competition would be altruistic rather than individualistic, honourable emulation rather than cut-throat rivalry. Men of intelligence readily acknowledge the evil of capitalism, yet they are not prepared to accept any drastic changes lest a worse thing happen. People do not give up their beliefs or institu-

tions because of objections that are taken to them. The British Constitution is full of anomalies, but it works well, and nobody proposes to upset it. There is in the constitutional conservatism of the British people an obstinate and not unwholesome dislike of change, which often tolerates a clamant injustice, and says with Lord Melville, "Why can't you let it alone?" If individualism got its quietus, and an altruria were set up in its place, might it not cut the nerve of civilisation by relaxing individual push and self-reliance, by reducing everything to a dead level, and so the perishing of manliness ensue where every one would be taken care of by a paternal State? Now, much force lies in this plea to maintain the *status quo*, only it is apt to be pushed too far, and futile as urged against the eternal order of God. The British Constitution has its faults, but it is no fungus growth—no thing of yesterday, but of a thousand years; yet it has yielded at many stages to the impact of life, and motion, and progress. The Industrial Revolution, with capitalism as its dominating factor, is not a thing of such long continuance; its capitalistic feature reached its colossal magnitude in the course of the nine-

teenth century, and it may disappear before the twentieth century has finished its course. No one looking below the surface of events that pass before his eyes can fail to be impressed by the rapidity and completeness of the changes brought forth. In our country the work of political emancipation was no sooner accomplished than the question of economic freedom came to be the question of the day. It is now the passions and interests of the people that are the chief factors in politics. Do not all the signs of the times indicate that we are on the threshold of a new era, where the *status quo* is still more unstable than ever, because all is life and motion and progress? Political economy feels the rising tide, and becomes more organic, ethical, and humane. The nineteenth century has changed the world more than any other; should not the twentieth change it still more, and for the better? The omens are favourable. For as Professor Marshall, the great English economist, well observes: "The growing earnestness of the age, the growing intelligence of the mass of the people, and the growing power of the telegraph, the Press, and other means of communication are ever widening

the scope of collective action for the public good."

The change desired differs entirely from what has been set down as a "general divide." A well-known anecdote is told of some communists who called on one of the Rothschilds and wanted him to divide his fortune with them. "All right," said the great financier; "how much do you estimate my fortune?" "Forty million florins," was the reply. "Good, that is just the number of the inhabitants of Germany, and will give a florin to each. Here is your florin, send along the others." Mr. Carnegie gives a variant of this story, when he brings a millionaire Socialist into the poorest district of a great city for the purpose of dividing a million sterling there. He divides the vast sum in the morning and comes back late to see the result. And what does he find? Poverty abolished? No; the area of poverty and wretchedness widened, and another set of men and women applying to him the second night, people who yesterday were living industrious, frugal, and self-respecting lives, but who, when they saw large sums of money showered down upon the idle and worthless, determined to have their share of the spoil.

“ They have fallen, tempted by the unwise and indiscriminate charity of almsgiving.” Such anecdotes contain a measure of truth, but do not in any way lay hold of the real gravity of the situation or help to mitigate the glaring contrast between vast wealth and enormous poverty, which excites the noblest spirits of our time against it, and in favour of a more equal distribution. The social equation is not a pocketful of guineas to the poor all round, but a system that will let surplus come to the producers in accordance with the truest demands of justice, industry, and humanity. At the same time, we should be as little content with the palliatives and political nostrums that are offered on every side as a cure for social unrest. Modifications of unfettered capitalism are more or less of this kind, such as President Roosevelt’s movement in America to overhaul the trusts in the interests of the community, or the proposals to tax the over-rich, or the death duties, and other schemes for a graduated income tax. The project of labour and farm colonies to deal with the unemployed belongs to the same class of palliatives ; they relieve the strain of the Social Question at some of its acutest points, but do

not lay an arrest on the causes working wrongfully. It is the change to another system of social stability that still forms the urgent question.

What, then, is the idea of a true industrial order? Does it exist? Has it been honestly or long thought out? Has any organisation of industry taken shape in the minds of men, and if there is, how far does it conform to righteousness in the end which it seeks or in the way to reach it? A few thinkers exist who are the idealists and outstanding advocates of a new organisation, while innumerable critics take up a more or less adverse attitude, but seldom bring to bear an equal courage and capacity in showing us "a more excellent way." Fichte is one of those earliest idealists. In his book on "The State in Accordance with Right" he outlines a new industrial order. "Labour and distribution should be collectively organised; every one should receive for a fixed amount of labour a fixed amount of capital which would constitute his property according to right. Property will thus be made universal. No person should enjoy superfluities, so long as anybody lacks necessities: for the right of

property in objects of luxury can have no foundation until each citizen has his share in the necessities of life. Farmers and labourers should form partnership, so as to produce the most with the least possible exertion." Here we have the ideal of a profound thinker, who felt acutely the need of a better type of industrial organisation long before the problem assumed the gravity which it possesses in our time.

Karl Marx, the philosophic historian of the capitalistic era, thus prophesies its end: "Expropriation takes place now, through the action of laws inherent in capitalistic production. The monopoly of capital is becoming the fetter of the capitalistic process, under and with which it has grown up. The concentration of the means of production and the association of labour are reaching a point at which they become incompatible with their capitalistic garment. The garment is rent. The death-knell of capitalistic private property sounds. The expropriators are expropriated." He compares the last step of this transition to the emergence of the chick from its shell, and this comparison suggests a peaceful rather than an

anarchic change, a process of Evolution rather than of revolution. The flaw which vitiates Marx's idea is its materialistic base, a flaw which almost robs it of any claim to be regarded as an ideal. There is no free, high ethic in it ; all comes about as the effect of blind and grinding law, and can be foretold with mathematical precision. His mistake lies in thinking Evolution to be blind and determinate in its operations, without intelligence and freewill. The crown of Evolution, as seen in man, its final and perfect product, is the possession of intelligence and freewill. The will of man, if not his intelligence, has reared up capitalism to its present proud pre-eminence, and if it has largely done so by methods of expropriation, the expropriators can only be safely removed by some more righteous exhibition of intelligence and freewill. The will of man counts for much, and for still more if *Deus Vult* propels it. Man has a social spirit that is endowed with powers of expansion, to which no limits can be set. By social action and co-operation he has often risen above himself and turned high ethical ideals into glorious realities.

Karl Marx has shown singular ability in

tracing out and forecasting the economic system of capitalism. His doctrine of surplus value has to be reckoned with, and, notwithstanding so-called refutations of it, it still holds the field, and the monopolistic tendencies of capitalism, which he prognosticated so carefully, have been enormously magnified since his day. Large portions of the industrial field are now dominated by combination and partial or complete monopoly, and wherever it is so competition, in many respects so brutal, is stopped ; its absence means monopoly, and the experience of history, it has been said, pronounces monopoly odious, because it holds the consumer in its power. This power of monopoly is rapidly developing in trusts and combines, syndicates and corporations, so conspicuous a feature of modern industry, and extends not only to the control of natural opportunities but also to that of manufactures. The United States Steel Corporation owns natural opportunities worth 600 million dollars—iron and limestone, coal and natural gas. Mr. Carnegie's fortune and the vast fortunes of other millionaires, from Astor to Morgan, rest on the same ownership. Such a monopoly as the United States Anthracite

restricts output for high prices, and thus proves contrary to the general good. An illustration comes to hand from the recent labours of the Canadian Tariff Commission as to how the Manufacturers' Association can manipulate the markets and finances, showing an utter callousness to the interests of the consumer. One who attended the numerous sessions of this Commission tells how the manufacturers are arrayed against the consumer. "But," he says, "even the notes of the shorthand-writers do not bring out in all its nakedness the behaviour of the Manufacturers' Association towards the man who must earn the money with which to buy the output of the factories of its members. To see the selfishness and associated greed that a quarter of a century of tariff concessions can engender, it is necessary to sit day after day, as it has been my fortune, and see the light-heartedness with which these sleek and prosperous manufacturers put forward their demands to enable them to levy still more toll on the earnings of the farming and working and middle-class population of Canada." Capitalism, Protection, bossdom, millionairism—they all hang together and combine to play

freely with the wealth of a people. If such organisations of monopoly do not menace the wellbeing of our people, yet the existence of jointstock companies and the growth of trusts going on about us now embrace wellnigh one-half of the whole business of Great Britain and demonstrate the fulfilment of Karl Marx's prophecies concerning the development of capitalism. Great monopolies of collective private production and ownership are the dominant factors of modern industrialism, in which management takes the place of the individual, and competition disappears. If these trusts and combines go on at the same rate for the next few years as they have done in the present generation, collective private will soon be ripe for transition into public ownership and administration ; and little objection to Government taking over industry would be made, if only it were capable of the task. Private shareholders might be expropriated with little more dislocation of industry than is caused by daily purchase of shares on the Stock Exchange. John Stuart Mill in his Autobiography gives his ideal of a true organisation of industry in one sentence : " The social problem of the future

we consider to be how to unite the greatest individual liberty of action with a common ownership in the raw material of the globe, and an equal participation of all in the benefits of combined labour."

A body of thinkers look for deliverance from schemes of old age pensions and profit-sharing. They have proposed to give the toilers at the age of seventy a pension of five shillings a week. Such a provision is commendable, and, happily, is now secured.

The proposal as to profit-sharing has much to recommend it as a serious modification of the present regime. It is a scheme which recognises surplus value as belonging, not to one factor but to three—management, capital, and labour; it makes the labourer feel himself partner in a worthy organisation, and animates him with a reasonable hope of spending his last days in comfort. Such a plan has many excellent features, but it leaves the old capitalism still too much in the position of the predominant partner, and lacks finality.

It is evident to all right thinkers that before a real and fruitful organisation of industry can be established individual must be largely sub-

ordinated to social interests, and the Christian ideal must be regarded of loving thy neighbour as thyself. How to balance the two motives of self-regard and regard for others emerges in modern discussions under the hotly-debated question of Individualism *v.* Socialism. There is no fundamental divergence between the two, each having vital elements of permanent value ; never can we accentuate too firmly the virtues of individuality of character, of personal skill, and energy, and success ; never can we praise too highly the wealth and worth of the social organism, the immeasurable good of living each for all and all for each. Their possible reconciliation is the ideal of all good and earnest reformers. Hitherto the right of the individual *v.* society has prevailed, and it is generally admitted that social ills proceed from an excessive individualism ; for the future it is felt with increasing force that the social organism *v.* the individual must have a predominating regard. In his "Data of Ethics" Herbert Spencer professes to see an agreement going on "between the interests of each citizen and the interest of citizens at large, tending ever towards a state in which the two become merged in one, and in

which the feelings answering to them respectively fall into complete accord."

If individual enterprise is in any way superseded or seriously modified, will socialised methods not land us in the worse evils of a corrupt and oppressive bureaucracy?

Observers of equal eminence with Herbert Spencer call our attention to movements which are going on under our eyes. A distinguished Professor of English Law, A. V. Dicey, published a book in 1905 entitled "Law and Public Opinion in England," the object of which is to point out three main currents of opinion which have governed English law during the nineteenth century. There was the era of what he calls paternal Toryism from 1800 to 1830, the era of Benthamite Individualism from 1825 to 1870, and the era of Collectivism from 1865 to 1900. He does not identify the last term with Socialism; he uses it vaguely, regarding it as the denial of *laissez-faire* and the affirmation of the benefit derived by the mass of the people from the intervention of the State, even when greatly limiting the sphere of individual liberty. The growth of collectivism is illustrated under four heads—the extension of the idea of Pro-

tection, as seen in the passing of Factory Acts, from 1847 to 1901, which regulate the hours of labour for every kind of wage-earner, including domestic servants ; the restriction on freedom of contract ; the preference for collective as contrasted with individual action ; and the equalisation of advantages among individuals possessed of unequal means for their attainment. National education, Combination Acts, Workmen's Compensation Acts, modern Arbitration Acts, and many more, give prestige and authority to the principle of collectivism. Not to reproduce his line of argument further, Professor Dicey declares the extension of State activity to be the characteristic trend of things from 1870 down to the present, and to be anything but a spent force. "So true is this," he concludes, "that modern individualists are themselves generally on some points Socialists." The inner logic of events leads, then, to the extension and the development of legislation which bears the impress of collectivism.

In every direction collective forms of ownership and enterprise are extending before our eyes. "The Municipal Year Book" for 1905 is full of instruction on these matters, and shows

an ever-growing area of communal advance and social progress. No fewer than fifty-nine new organisations for the year exhibit the possibilities of municipal and other local administrative efforts that have been called into operation. About 1,050 water undertakings belong to local authorities in the United Kingdom ; the number of gas corporation concerns is 1,615, compared with only 148 in the year 1882. Tramways have of late years figured prominently in municipal enterprise. Towns almost without exception are rapidly municipalising their tramway services, and part-proprietorship of many other concerns, such as lunatic asylums, canals, and farming, is making advance. What are the results of these reproductive undertakings? The income derived therefrom amounts to $23\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the total revenue in England and Wales, and to $39\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. in Scotland ; these remunerative enterprises yield a clear net profit of over £1,000,000 in the former, and in Scotland of nearly £147,000. And this drift of collective municipal enterprise goes on at an accelerated rate from year to year through the land.

Collective ownership and administration have

their object-lessons in the services of the postal and telegraphic systems, which are performed with such complete punctuality and accuracy ; and they are rendered better and on the whole at a cheaper rate than if they were in private hands. Railways are also brought under State management in several countries, and acquaintance with their working meets with growing ~~approbation~~. The success of a railway company is the triumph, not of individual but of corporate energy, and directs popular attention to the advantages of collective rather than of individual action. This modern development of corporate trade, headed up in stupendous trusts and syndicates, adds immensely to the main stream of collective industrial enterprise, which is to remove the anomalies of the past, and determine the new organisation of industry in the future. As Professor Dicey observes, "it constantly suggests the conclusion that every large business may become a monopoly, and that trades which are monopolies may wisely be brought under the management of the State." With this view Professor Marshall concurs in his "Principles of Economics," where he says that "we are gradually moving towards forms

of collectivism which will be higher than the old, because they will be based on strong self-disciplined individuality." Projects for sudden changes, such as out-and-out Socialism demands, are foredoomed to failure, and cause reaction, but if gradation and caution be observed in the introduction of collective methods of production, ownership, and consumption, much of what Socialism stands for may be safely reached before the end of the twentieth century.

Some one will say: "Agreed so far, even to making railways public property, but the fringe of the problem is hardly touched; what about coal-mining, oil-refineries, steel and iron works, shipbuilding and shipping lines, a hundred and one amalgamated concerns, and all the various manufactures of trade and commerce? How are they to be converted from private to public ownership? and when will the collective method ever transfer them to the care of the State?" Such is generally the form in which the objection to collectivism is couched, and when the further notion of all this coming quickly about rises in the mind, it seems to be Utopian and utterly impracticable. But there is a more rational view of the question, one more

consonant with the main current of collectivist tendency and the growing intervention of the State. Anything like a doctrinaire Socialism we put aside ; or anything like sudden and violent legislation for the transfer of the means of production and distribution to the management of the State we renounce as being equally predatory and anti-social with the system we have found wanting. In this country when a wrong has become intolerable the fashion is to proceed, not by revolution but by reform, until the intolerable situation is relieved. The tendency of the industrial whale to swallow up the industrial minnow has been at work for a century, operating as powerfully as the cause which regulates the rise and fall of the tide ; and this being so, and no going back on it being possible, the public mind more and more favours the idea of State interference in the interest of the general welfare. And since the petty employer and the small trader have largely been beaten out of the field by trusts, companies, and other developments of collective wealth, many wise men are prepared to place the operation of this tendency in the hands of the State, and for behoof of the whole people.

We are in the porch of a new system, of a new organisation of industry, and should move towards it by economic methods and on constitutional lines, with an ethic of Christian justice and brotherhood to guard and guide the conscience of the nation. Certain steps of reform appear ready to be taken, and should be taken as leading up to larger policies, until fair and equal justice has been established. The concentration of the instruments of wealth in huge companies takes us a long way to the goal, while such collective forms of industry as municipal tramways, gas and waterworks, and State postal and telegraph services, point the way of future developments. It is only large monopolistic concerns that can be in the first instance committed to State ownership and operation ; it is only as one business after another achieves something like complete monopoly, and the blind play of competition as a game of chance has disappeared, that a transfer from private and irresponsible to public and responsible administration can be adopted. Economic authority has pronounced the Standard Oil Company of the United States to be a monopoly at a stage ripe for absorption ; the

secretary of the Association of Chambers of Commerce in Great Britain has published a volume entitled "National Railways : an Argument for State Purchase," and pleads for their Government ownership and management. In recent years the efforts of Pierpont Morgan to form a huge combine among the shipping firms of this and other countries, are an omen indicating collectivist currents, and demonstrating that monopoly has gone so far in this department of industry as to make it ready for being socialised. The same thing may be alleged with reference to shipbuilding, steel and iron works, coal-mining, and other large amalgamations of trade, in many of which the captains of industry have disappeared except to draw big fortunes out of them, while the industry out of which they draw unearned income is placed under a system of management—just like the conditions in which public ownership and control would conduct the business in the interests of the greatest good to the greatest number. At present there are many lines of manufacturing industry where monopoly is far from having organised them into a single whole, and where "the conversion of capitalist

private ownership of the means of production into social ownership " has hardly so much as come in sight. The question is highly debatable whether leading branches of manufacture are likely to be, or ever can be, socialised ; here socialistic schemes of absolute public ownership are all in the air ; and advocates of reform, however earnest, must take their time, and ca' canny, even though a fairer plan of production and distribution is urgently demanded, and a deep-flowing, wide-sweeping current runs in that direction. It is not evident yet that private forms of business may not hold a permanent place in any future reorganisation of industry. Although production on a large scale is a predominating feature of the present, and is likely to increase when collectivism is well under way, yet businesses conducted upon a small scale may continue their operations, and small producers and retail shopkeepers may hold their own against collectivist undertakings. There is no reason why in the new regime there should not be production on a small scale, like home industries in countryside cottages, chiefly for local needs, and not readily yielding to unification ; it is even suggested by collectivist

thinkers that there might be in the good time coming a revival of private initiative and enterprise, a new outburst of individual skill and ability to crown the reorganisation of society.

Such an economic, industrial, and social transformation will not, as any sane-minded reformer owns, come all at once, in the twinkling of an eye, nor does any one desire it to come like a crack of doom. However urgent be the need of such a regime, however ripe be the times for the restitution of all things, however numerous be the omens of its advent, the majority of reasonable men do not expect the fulfilment just yet. Lasselle, a Socialist dreamer, who counted much on the help of the State, did not look for the realisation of his dream within less than two hundred years. Karl Marx, with his materialistic conception of the universe, leaves the introduction of this programme to inevitable natural laws, without any human interference ; and it is difficult to conceive how, according to such a view, a millennium will not be required to bring the wished-for end. At the same time, we should never lose sight of the fact that the present capitalistic order of society came in with the nineteenth century, and gained

its ascendancy during the same period, and therefore that it may pass away with the new century and be superseded by a fairer system of industry ere the twentieth century reaches its close. If we go slowly, and go surely, as we ought, new forces and aspirations demand genuine and substantial instalments of reform to hasten the coming of the kingdom, which is righteousness and brotherhood. Undoubtedly, the difficulty of socialising the means of wealth-production is real and great, but the difficulties of the present system are still more serious and intolerable. They will deserve best of the commonwealth who march with the new aims, and try to guide them in the path of practical and sensible reform, so that we may make the strength of the State broad-based, without enervating what is, after all, the backbone of States—the initiative, the energy of the individual.

The new organisation which aims at socialising monopoly will be conformable to the requirements of justice. It will bring about justice in distribution, for it will prevent anything like misappropriation or theft under the sanction of legality, and secure that truest form of the sacredness of private property—

the right of the wage-earner to the full fruit of his labour ; it will avoid the extremes of wealth and poverty, and approximate to Agur's prayer, " Give me neither poverty nor riches," at the same time that it will apportion reward to merit, giving to brains, to skill, and management a larger share of income than to ordinary manual toil. In the new regime capitalists will be merged into civil officials ; there will be no masters or servants ; all will be partners in a common enterprise.

When the new collective regime gets fairly under way it will remove a crowd of anomalies and maladjustments. The general planlessness of the present system, with its reckless speculation and gambling, will disappear ; the evils of over-production, with gluts of the market and enormous wastes of competition, will come to an end. Over-production causes under-consumption. Under the element of chance goods are piled up till the crisis comes, and multitudes of unemployed hang about and the purchasing power of the community declines. So full of contradiction is the present system that, as it has been said, " men must go without coats because too much clothing has been pro-

duced, and children must go hungry because the production of grain has been overabundant." In the new organisation of industry the old irregularities of private guesswork will be superseded by regular, systematic production, the atomising progress of competition will be subordinated to solidarity, and all forces will work together freely for a large measure of wealth. Such augmentation of productive and spending power would do away with unemployment, would no longer benefit monopolists and increase their power to bind labour, but would make the worker a partner in production, keep him in steady employment, and secure to him a more equitable share of surplus.

The new organisation of industry will be conformable to the requirements of labour. Given a right economic order, the collective plan affords equal opportunity to all, and realises the Christian conception of work as laid upon all and dignified by the value of man upon which it insists. There is to be no idle class, no class of those who consume but do not produce; no privileged body allowed to live upon the produce of others' labour without rendering a due equivalent. There shall be no

idle rich or idle poor ; the new system seeks to eliminate both these classes as cumberers of the ground.

The old monk spoke true—*Laborare est orare*. To realise that God through this ordinance of labour carries out His own evolutionary ends, and in fact moves as truly in industrialism as anywhere else, is the secret of all faithful, beautiful, and fruitful work. In that fundamental idea of the value and sacredness of labour do we find the potent motive to all industry and the root of all beneficial reform. When work is freed from the terrible grind of competition and the degrading effect of overtime ; when labour is viewed, not as a means to obtain a livelihood but as a means to living, it will be a *sursum corda* to the nation of workers, and a summons to new developments of industrial efficiency. The new organisation will be conformable to the requirements of brotherly help. Every one capable of working and diligent of hand will be among the Haves, and have that he may give to him that needeth, to the old, and infirm, and incapable of working ; and this should hold true of the State as well as of the individual. Can we expect an industrial regime

to be alive to, or framed to serve the ends of, brotherhood, sympathy, and benevolence? It is a feature of all past systems that they have been non-ethical, contemptuous of moral sentiments, and as a consequence have been hard, and unjust, and selfish. The individualism, very different from individuality, which signalises the capitalistic era has done much to encourage the deception that we have been born into this world each for the sake of himself or his family. But the new social order which is likely to emerge out of collective ownership will be grounded in the region of social and altruistic instincts, where men learn to love their neighbours as themselves, where Herbert Spencer foresees that "sympathy will reach a height that we cannot now imagine." It is a social and organic structure in which as one member suffers all suffer, and as one member rejoices all rejoice. "The central idea," to quote Professor Ely, "is that each one should contribute to the common welfare whatever his strength and capacity will permit, and that none shall be permitted to suffer for the lack of anything which he really needs, provided the resources of society are sufficient to satisfy the need."

There is no individualism, but only solidarity, in the working of the new system to this end ; it will not be the outcome of a charitable heart, but the expression of a public duty to be fulfilled. Great savings of surplus values under the new organisation will pass no longer into the pockets of private individuals, but enable the State to do what an odd millionaire here and there obtains much credit for trying to do at the present time. Such schemes as providing for old age pensions, or supplying meals to underfed school children, would thus be carried out. In this succour of the poor and needy charity would not lose, unmethodical and mischievous as so much of it is at present among us. The collapse of present-day efforts to afford charitable relief is the bitter disappointment of all philanthropists, and the need for an organisation of charity is the bitter cry of all reformers. It is only the new order, developing a corporate conscience, that will furnish the condition of sympathy, the sense of brotherhood, necessary to a true administration of solid help. Partial, sporadic, uncertain relief hurts as much as it cures, but if it comes along the lines of organised effort, and not of private benevolence, it

will be adequate to meet the necessities of the whole body politic.

Such an organisation of industry, conformable to the requirements of justice, labour, and benevolence, is a commonwealth of good, which the citizens of a great nation might well pray and work for till it be ushered in.

“When each and all are workers, hand and brain
Divorced no more; no toil to bear the brand
Of degradation; when the common gain
Is each man’s good—fast then our State shall stand.”

CHAPTER XII

BROTHERHOOD AND CO-OPERATION

THE transition from an individual to a collective system of industrial life, while determined by a whole body of opinions, sentiments, and tendencies, is capable of wise direction and control ; and just as it is so guided will it turn out to be a gradual and peaceful, a prosperous and fruitful, development of social wellbeing. For the transition is not to be a mighty, brainless, will-less, grinding law of evolution as Karl Marx and materialists are accustomed to represent it. Things must not be allowed to take their own course ; for, if they had been so allowed, the conditions of labour might have been worse to-day than they ever were in the early days of the factory system, and an utter collapse of human progress might have ensued in this and other industrial countries. It is a fact of history that when

human efforts are put forth to guide social evolution nothing but good has been the result. An inevitable corollary from the belief that things will settle themselves is social apathy, and Lord Melbourne's "Why can't you let it alone?" will paralyse all social aspiration and endeavour. Indolence, apathy, unconcern is the sin against the Holy Ghost in the social and industrial sphere.

History and science prove that economic and social changes to be permanent must be gradual and steady, fitted to the mental and moral conditions of the people ; but it is often the case that when mental and moral conditions are matured the claims of justice and brotherhood are still delayed or rudely denied. It is in such crises of social instability and unrest that revolutions are hatched, and it is only by timely and adequate reform that revolutions can be prevented. Social conditions it is in the power of man to alter or amend, and by the same power man may determine whether, or how far, new schemes of adjustment should be introduced, so as to promote the equalisation of advantages, give every man pride in his work, and provide for the need of all. There is

nothing like a policy or programme to which we should inevitably pledge ourselves ; no magnificent ideal of transformation to be carried out within the shortest space of time ; no brand-new organisation to be drafted and launched on the community for immediate translation into practice. The new organisation of industry can only be brought about by the evolution of movements going on amongst us, by the advancement of step-by-step measures, by reasonable, yet ample, instalments of reform. If we have "an understanding of the times to know what to do," we need a party of growing number and influence, gathered from every class of the community, actively homogeneous in reforming spirit, strenuously purposed to see anomalies removed, and a just and brotherly commonwealth established. All thoughtful men in the nation must contribute to the solution of economic unrest. It is not a mere labour question ; it is not a matter of Individualism *v.* Socialism ; it is not an affair of the employer against the wage-earner. There is nothing sadder or more mischievous than making this a class war, setting the rich against the poor, pitting capital and labour against one another,

when the gist of the problem is how to make both perfectly one. It is an all-round question, touching vitally the interests of every class in the nation. In seeking industrial readjustment the task that lies before us is plain ; we want the welfare of the people as a whole. We often fail to grasp the complex social elements together, and our very remedies tend to sunder them. The public good cannot be obtained by separating man from man, or setting class against class. There should be a place for each within the social organism, and each ought to show the same spirit of life, be heir of the common good, and be ready to share it with any who may lack.

What help do economical theorists render to the cause of reform? We have already indicated how modern economists view the evils of our capitalistic system, and in what direction solutions are to be found. The older political economy, which was atomic and individualistic, is now growingly intent upon a statement of its doctrines from the organic and collective point of view. Ricardo's rigid formulæ and abstract laws no longer dominate the minds of the best thinkers in economics and politics ; sociology

and social economics, the prevailing studies of our time, are an evidence of the large place which a regard, not merely for money-making but for the common wellbeing of all alike, now occupies among economic authorities. Professor Adolph Wagner, the famous teacher of political economy in the University of Berlin, accepts in a large sense the better view of Socialism thus defined in his own words : " It is a principle which regulates social and economic life according to the needs of society as a whole, or which makes provision for the satisfaction of those needs. It requires that production should be duly regulated by public authority, carried on in a co-operative manner, and divided among the producers in a juster manner than at present, when the distribution is effected by means of demand and supply." Professor Marshall, of Cambridge University, tells us in " Principles of Economics " what questions have to be investigated by the economist of the present day, and thus enumerates a few of them : " What are the proper relations of individual and collective action in a stage of civilisation such as ours? How far ought voluntary association in its various forms, old and new, to be

left to supply collective action for those purposes for which such action has special advantages? What business affairs should be undertaken by society itself, acting through its Government, imperial or local? When Government does not itself directly intervene, how far should it allow individuals and corporations to conduct their own affairs as they please? How far should it regulate the management of railways and other concerns which are to some extent in a position of monopoly, and again of land and other things the quantity of which cannot be increased by man? " Such questions show how far the political economists are compelled to go with the stream of collectivistic thinking, while the trend of collectivistic legislation is demonstrated by the fact that, according to the Shop Hours Act of 1904, a shop-girl has now acquired a legal right to a seat.

Professor Ely expresses the view of Liberal economists in America, in his examination of Socialism, with suggestions for social reform. He advocates with much knowledge and candour a large concession to the high ideals which Socialism has placed before the masses of the people, and he points out two methods for de-

veloping the social side of private property, one being the voluntary method and the other through public agencies. While he is convinced that individuality will not suffer, but become vigorous under the socialisation of industry, he is also persuaded that a better social order will appear. "We have reason to believe," he concludes, "that we shall yet see great national undertakings the property of the nation, and managed by the nation, through agents who appreciate the glory of true public service, and feel that it is God's work which they are doing, because Church and State are one."

The testimony of three such leading thinkers and representatives of industrial communities cannot fail to lend potent help to the movement for social and economic emancipation.

The educated classes also are fitted to have a great *rôle* in promoting the new adjustment of society. Between the two extreme factions there exists a large class of fair-minded, well-meaning men and women, who are the glory of our land. They are free from influences of dependence and servility, and they are broad-minded enough to take an impartial survey of the situation and sympathetic enough with both

sides to recommend wise concessions. To such minds it is apparent that industry ought to be organised in a basis which will recognise that wealth exists for man and not man for wealth. It is evident also for men of education that constructive intellect, and a large measure of hard thinking, will be the best allies to bring to the task of social improvement. At the same time, it has often happened that this thoughtful and fair-minded class do not manifest as warm an interest in the causes of social reform as they might, and are slow to act on the Christian saying that he who saves his life shall lose it, and he who loses his life shall find it. Jotham's parable of the vine and the olive hoarding their sweetness and fatness, and declining to stump about for the trees of the forest, has still its lesson for the cultured classes of our land. In Nathanael Hawthorne we have an instance of a man of literary worth, who dreaded the enthusiasm of reforming crusaders, and had a deep-rooted conviction that any real reform must *accomplish itself*, and not be forced on society, yet he pressed this view into the service of immorality when he would not use a little finger to remove the foul blot of American slavery,

and placed himself on the side of those who upheld it. A critical, agnostic, and unsocial attitude is apt to confuse the simple perception of what is right, and the simple-hearted desire to achieve it. God binds gifts to service, and commands us to use for the common good whatever talents we have received. Often those most competent to help are least inclined to greet proposals for social and industrial amelioration. In "The Ground of Our Appeal" for a Christian social union Canon Scott Holland makes this statement: "The peril that is on us at this hour lies in the economic dejection and despair that are paralysing the educated classes. Larger and larger numbers of educated men are growing content to sit by and pick out the weak places in Socialist schemes, while they themselves sadly acquiesce in a situation which they condemn." We take a more favourable outlook, believing that the intellect of the age, touched by a warmer emotion, has wakened up to resist this pressing peril. The period of inaction and reaction is at an end, and the forces of insistent hope come once more to the front. A larger body of trained sociologists and sympathetic thinkers assert their influence in the higher

walks of literature, coming to the study of the social and industrial problem with a deeper sense of ethical obligation and a clearer vision of social rights and wrongs, and more intent on serious modification or gradual supersession of capitalism as a distinct policy for the future.

The propertied classes themselves might render signal aid to the solution of this industrial problem. Some think that they could completely solve it, if they could only be induced to take it in hand and carry it through. No class of men is called to a greater mission than the capitalists—the possessing classes of Great Britain—to remedy the enormous social evils in the midst of which they have piled up their enormous wealth. It is their interest as well as their duty to hear the call, even though it means ousting from some of their “goods.” We do not urge resort to French Revolutions for the rectification of inequalities as acute as brought about the first. One fears to see the men of wealth and material fortune making one party of the Have, and the vast bulk of the people another party of the Have-not. The danger of one section taking one side in the possession of great wealth and the great mass of the com-

munity embracing the other side of a diminished income, is one which may threaten serious injury to the State. What should further weigh with the propertied class, in calling them to the rescue of the masses from poverty and degradation, is the consideration that the workman has helped so greatly to create the wealth they possess. His hands have multiplied the employer's capital four-fold, nay, forty-fold, or a hundred-fold, yet his pay has doomed him to a precarious, poverty-stricken life, closing often in a squalid and unassisted old age. It is not a plea for charity ; we plead with the rich for justice, and then let charity follow, giving to him that needeth, the charity that will constrain the possessors of wealth to be possessors of those other attributes, the attributes of self-denial, chivalry, and humanity, by which any upward social movements can be made successful. Do we ask too much when we ask our rich manufacturers and employers to set the type of energy and enterprise in bringing about a better organisation of industry and a fairer distribution of wealth? Doubtless, it is a great demand ; it is the choice of the young man in the gospel ; or is the attitude of the propertied class that

of a miser crouching over his money-bags? The rich are at present in the position of the king who refused the earlier books of the sibyl, and saw the remaining volumes committed to the fire. If they would sacrifice a goodly number of the material opportunities of enjoyment for the sake of social amelioration and industrial peace, it is certain that those causes would be immeasurably advanced.

If the propertied classes have the power, were they so disposed, to accelerate the movement towards an equitable order of industry, it is certain that the working classes have already gained, and are destined in the future to gain, this power more and more. The uprising of the workers is one of the great social phenomena of our time, and the appearance of a greatly strengthened Labour Party in Parliament is a factor of foremost significance. Karl Marx told the labour-hosts that they must save themselves, and that they must win economic deliverance along the path of political rights. "They cannot effect," says the Erfurt Programme, "the transfer of the means of production to the community without being invested with political power, and when it is intelligently organised

other parties of the State are powerless to resist it." The future is in the hand of the workers, who have a rough but strenuous belief in justice and a ready, independent way of asserting it. All the more necessary is it, therefore, for the men of labour to look to the heights and keep the moral ideal over their head. That they should trust to themselves is good advice, but to make out of it a struggle of classes is wrong. Class hatred is the spirit of violence and revenge, and it is unjust and anti-social. The problem which has been before us is not simply a labour problem, because it affects much wider, even national, interests. There are other classes of the community whose voice must be heard, if the last word is to be the voice of God. It cannot be too insistently set forth that the upper and middle and working classes should avoid a brute struggle of opposing forces, and stand together in the social movement. Even though the new industrial regime establish the great principle that "if a man will not work, neither shall he eat," the worker must learn what hitherto he has not fairly recognised, that not so large a share should be given to the hands as to the brains, and that the reconstruction will be a

sorry business if it aims only at material improvements, and stops short of moral development, and fails to secure a larger diffusion of virtue, intelligence, thrift, sobriety, brotherhood, and spiritual wealth ; while every man should contribute by his labour to the public plenty, the highest work of the worker should be to transfer the stress of the warfare of life from the lower to the higher sphere—to realise the Christian ideal: "Seek ye first the kingdom of God, and His righteousness, and all things shall be added thereto."

The Church has a special mission to fulfil in setting forward the cause of higher order and progress. It has been put in charge of a moral power and dignity and authority, intended to redeem men from egoistic morals and transform society into a kingdom of justice, equality, and brotherhood. It possesses a religion, and publishes a gospel, whose unique gift of a new life no less discovers and accentuates the individual in man, than it is an organising principle to make the individuals members one of another. In the Decalogue of the Old Testament and the Sermon on the Mount of the New, it furnishes an ethic, the fullest and noblest that can be

conceived of for individuals and communities alike ; and in the Christian gospel it contains a master-motive for inducing us to pursue, and a master power to aid us in realising, that ideal. The Church's present duty is "to claim for the Christian law the ultimate authority to rule social practice, and how to apply the moral truths and principles of Christianity to the social and economic difficulties of the present time." It is her duty, therefore, to have a firm grip of social questions, and make it manifest that her teachers are not briefed for the capitalistic side alone. If the Church does not interest herself in what concerns the people, they cannot be expected to interest themselves in what concerns the Church. Her pious function will not be of much concern if it is not based on " whatsoever things are just " and crowned by " whatsoever things are lovely and of good report." The working classes still believe in Christ, and not a few of their leaders preach Christ ; but it is current among them to say that there is no use for the Churches or the parsons, regarding the former as dead official institutions and the latter as amiable functionaries who have no real sympathy with the aspirations of the

labour masses, who adduce the plea of an Archbishop of Canterbury that he is too busy to form any opinion about the problem of the unemployed. There need be no compact between the Churches and Labour, much less any yoking on their part to its chariot wheels, but there ought to be a better understanding between them and the Church of whatever name that should give assurance to working-men that it is more interested in them, and anxious to be of readier service to them than they often imagine. In this way their callous indifference to the Church's evangel may be removed, and the road be eased for social progress and industrial harmony. Then, least of all, should there be any servility on the Church's part to the magnates of capitalism; there must be no bowing in the house of Rimmon, but a steadfast presentation in a money-loving age of the ancient ultimatum, God or Mammon? The Church has its Golden Rule and a high moral ideal to propound and practise, and shame upon any ecclesiastic who would sell it for a mess of pottage! The Church has its economic and industrial standard of rule and practice, the chief factors of which are justice, industry, and

benevolence—strict justice in giving to each his due, with a scrupulous honour not to defraud; high regard for the quality no less than the quantity of work—for the dignity as well as the desert of labour, and brotherly willingness to give to him that needeth.

It is the duty of the Church to test the *status quo* of industrialism by this standard, and if the situation is found wanting, and has become intolerable, let the Church say so, and yoke her moral authority and Divine dynamic to the other forces of the nation in the interests of a better economic, social, and spiritual order. The question, let it be said in closing this study, is not one of abolishing capital, but of facilitating its widest diffusion, and making it tributary to the nation's highest welfare by changing it into commonwealth. It is a question of building up the true capital, which consists, not of money, mines, or lands, but of brains, heart-forces, and conscience—of even-handed justice, free-handed labour, and open-handed love. It is the hastening forward to that ideal State wherein all elements that hurt or destroy are eliminated, and the road of progress has no end—wherein the Church's daily petition,

“ Father, Thy kingdom come, Thy Will be done on earth ” finds answer—wherein stands the city of God, according to Mazzini’s words: “ the similitude of that Divine society where all are equal and there is one love, one happiness for all.”

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